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Education and Training for the Public Service in the West Indies
by G. E. Mills

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by P. F. Leeds

Administration in the British Solomon Islands
by Dr. A. M. Healy

BOOK REVIEWS
by Colin Leys, A. J. F. Simmance, Jean Meric, S. S. Richardson, H. H. Marshal, J. T. Fleming, A. F. Leemans

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Notes to Contributors

Articles for publication in the *Journal* from serving officers and others with knowledge and experience in the field covered by the *Journal* are welcome and should be addressed to the Editor, Administrative Services Branch, Ministry of Overseas Development, Eland House, Stag Place, Victoria, London, S.W.1.

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Editor's Notes

In this issue of the *Journal* we publish articles from the West Indies, Africa, the Pacific Islands and Hong Kong.

Education and training for the public service provide the theme for the first three articles. Mr. Mills reviews comprehensively the particular training problems facing the islands of the West Indies. He emphasises the small size of the communities involved and the intensely personal societies in which government operates, making perhaps inevitable, during the teething stage of independence, a degree of political interference in the functioning of the civil service to which he draws attention– – not, as he explains, that the fault has lain all on one side. Mr. Mills closes his article with a stern warning "unless serious and concentrated efforts are devoted to training programmes the public service will progressively deteriorate and will eventually collapse", a warning that needs to be heeded in countries far beyond the West Indies.

Mr. Baker explains very clearly the methods used at the Institute of Public Administration in Malawi, while Mr. Chadwick, writing from Zambia, discusses the philosophy of administrative training, sets up the ninepins of popular theory and then cheerfully knocks them down one by one. One must surely assume that courses are intelligently organised; therefore new recruits to the civil service be they graduates or not, knowing little or nothing of the administrative duties they will have to undertake, cannot fail to benefit from what they study and learn on pre-service training. Where, however, it is necessary to provide in-service training for administrative personnel new to their posts and recently promoted thereto from subordinate positions, it is obviously of value to probe, as Mr. Chadwick probes, the validation of the training provided since its efficacy can be questionable and proof of success is not readily to be ascertained. A newly arrived tutor in public administration at an institute in Africa would do well to read Mr. Baker's article to see how one system of training is actually carried out, and, it appears from his and from Mr. Bennion's article published in the October 1965 issue of this *Journal*, successfully carried out, and then to read Mr. Chadwick's article to ensure that he does not become complacent or ready to accept a theory on training as good gospel without first questioning whether it has or can have real value in his work.

Attention is also drawn to a triple review of Dr. Brian Weinstein's *African Schools of Public Administration*, provided by three Heads of training institutes in Africa, Mr. A. J. F. Simmance in Kenya, M. Jean Meric in the Ivory Coast and Mr. S. S. Richardson in Nigeria.

We have stressed before in these Notes the high priority we believe should be accorded to administrative training and this is indeed endorsed by the articles we publish regularly from those responsible in the overseas field for institutional training of the civil service personnel of newly independent countries. The time has now come, in our view, to give urgent consideration to the basic needs of administration in the context of overseas circumstances so as to ensure that training is orientated to meet the new development requirements of the governments concerned. At present much attention is

rightly being paid to administration training: it is, however, mostly training within the formal procedures described in the modern western type laws; this, though extremely important, does not always take into account the actual conditions which obtain in the administrative field in developing countries, including attitudes and relations between politicians and administrators. There is, we believe, a very real need for training to concentrate on what is known as 'development administration' in all its many and varied aspects.

We welcome the opportunity to publish the articles by Mr. Leeds and Dr. Healy, from the Far East and from the Pacific. Mr. Leeds provides a full and most interesting account of the immense housing problem faced since the end of the war in Hong Kong where the population, which had dropped to under 600,000 during the Japanese occupation, rose to over 3.8 million by the end of 1965 as a result of a tremendous influx of refugees from the mainland. Mr. Leeds explains how the Hong Kong Government has battled with this problem and shows how a remarkable degree of success has been achieved by the efforts of the administration.

Dr. Healy provides a valuable account of administrative development in the Solomon Islands under British rule and it is interesting to note how the theory of indirect rule has been carried so far afield.

Education and Training for the Public Service in the West Indies

By G. E. MILLS

Mr. Mills is Director of Training in Public Administration and Head, Department of Government, University of the West Indies.

In a Report published in the United Kingdom in 1963, a Committee with Lord Bridges as Chairman emphasized the importance of training for public officials in developing countries and proposed measures for improving the quality of civil service staffs in these countries.[1] The purpose of this article is to focus attention on the environment within which the public service operates in the British Caribbean, to outline the problems and needs for trained public service personnel arising from these conditions, and finally to suggest ways in which these needs might be met.

The Background – Problems and Needs

Since the end of the Second World War a number of influences – partly internal, partly from outside – have stimulated an awareness in developing countries of the need for qualified local staff to man their public services. Encouraged by advanced, industrialised nations and by international organizations, countries in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the West Indies are becoming concerned with the problems of introducing programmes for raising living standards and significant changes are appearing in the character of governmental activities. Intertwined with governments' traditional functions of maintaining law and order are new responsibilities for economic and social development, which are reflected in a continuing growth of the public sector, in an expansion of existing government departments and the creation of new departments and public agencies. In addition, these countries are becoming increasingly involved in the arena of international negotiations. All these new activities have created a need for new types of professional and technical staff for the public service. In the West Indian territories, following the social and political upheavals of the late 1930's, far-reaching social, economic and constitutional reforms were introduced and large investment funds injected by the British Government in projects of agricultural development and in health, education and other social services. For the first time in the history of these countries the civil services began to recruit expertise in the fields of economics, labour conciliation, factory inspection, and community development. Such expertise can be provided by personnel from overseas, but developing countries must plan to meet their requirements for qualified staff ultimately by intensive and expanded training programmes for personnel who have long-term commitments to the countries in which they are to be employed.

[1] *Report of the Committee on Training in Public Administration for Overseas Countries*, London, HMSO, 1963.

Further, the extension of governments' activities and their increasingly technical nature have added new dimensions to the responsibilities of administrative personnel who combine policy advisory and managerial functions, and governments are slowly becoming aware that efficient and dynamic administrative officials are essential for the success of programmes for economic and social development. Unfortunately, in most of these countries, while there has been a long tradition of professional training, only within recent years has the need for trained administrators been recognised.

Simultaneously with these developments, the movement towards self-government and independence with the transfer of powers and responsibilities to political heads of departments has brought significant consequences for the civil service. First, while obvious advantages have flowed from the introduction of ministerial forms of government, the creation of ministries has increased the demand for administrative staff. More important, in certain parts of the West Indies friction and mutual suspicion between political ministers and career civil servants present serious obstacles to the efficient conduct of government business. Civil servants allege that politicians make public speeches attacking and threatening them, and express fears that the careers of individual officials will be jeopardised on political considerations.

The intensity of these feelings was demonstrated by the strong representations made in 1961 by civil service staff associations to the Colonial Office against the proposal to amend constitutions to provide for the appointment of Civil Service Commissioners by Administrators acting "on the *advice* of" Chief Ministers, in place of the present formula "after *consultation* with" Chief Ministers. Civil servants feared the consequences of this proposed change which would in effect have meant appointment of the Commissions by Chief Ministers. There is also the phenomenon of relatively young West-Indian-born professional officers seeking permission to leave the service before retiring age (and expecting large sums in compensation) on the ground that their conditions of service have changed as a result of the transfer of powers from the Colonial Office to local ministers – and this in a region woefully lacking in qualified staff.

These factors have contributed to a deterioration in the morale of the civil service, particularly in the small territories of the Windward Islands. In Grenada, following the findings of a Commission of Enquiry into public expenditure, the constitution was suspended in June, 1962,[2] the Colonial Office taking the opportunity to emphasize the need for observance of the proper principles governing the relationship between ministers and civil servants in the following words:

> "As regards the Civil Service, the Commission of Enquiry found that the Executive had deliberately destroyed its morale by an undesirable interference with administrative duties and by improper threats against security of office; and that the Civil Service had been induced by this interference and these threats to commit or to condone improprieties or irregularities in the expenditure of public funds. These are very grave findings. It is essential to good government to ensure that individual public servants are in a position to perform their duties without fear or favour.

[2] *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Control of Public Expenditure in Grenada* during 1961 and subsequently, Cmnd. 1735.

This state of affairs can only come about by protecting the independence of the Civil Service from political interference. Much damage has been done to the morale of the Civil Service of Grenada by the policy of threats and intimidation exercised by the Government now dismissed from office. In the interests of good government in Grenada, I must express the earnest hope that in time this damage will be repaired by scrupulous observance of the proper principles and traditions governing the relationship of Ministers and Civil Servants."[3]

In St. Vincent, a Commission of Enquiry into expenditure and the employment of labour by the Public Works Department found that "political interference" had had a profound effect upon the morale and efficiency of civil servants and had created an atmosphere of fear and diminished responsibility with a corresponding tolerance towards irregularities and the waste or misuse of public funds.[4]

These problems stem partly from a limited experience in the operation of a ministerial form of government,[5] but they are mainly due to psychological causes involved in the transfer of power to political heads. Ministers, conscious of their new powers and determined to dispel any suggestion of inferiority, are anxious to assert their newly-won authority; they fear also that some civil servants wish to sabotage the government's programme. On the other hand some senior officials coming from a different social and educational background, regard ministers as uneducated parvenus unfitted for the important task of governing a country. Moreover, official heads of departments, long accustomed before the transfer of power to acting virtually as ministers, have found it difficult to adjust to their new position of subordination to political superiors. Other civil servants, fearful of jeopardising their careers, ingratiate themselves with politicians and are *not* prepared to advise ministers in a firm and objective manner.

These difficulties are intensified by the small size of the communities, and the intensely personal societies in which government operates; where everyone knows everyone else, his political sympathies and those of his relatives and friends. In such an environment it is difficult to maintain the traditional British concept of a neutral, impartial and anonymous civil service. Some of these problems will be surmounted only after ministers and officials have had longer experience of working together in a ministerial form of government and have had time to adjust to the new system. But there is a place for education and training designed to inform both ministers and officials of their proper functional roles and relationships.

Constitutional changes and the pressures for development have brought out other problems and needs. One is the need for new attitudes in the public service. Great Britain left its former colonial territories in the West Indies, as it did in India, a heritage of sound and stable administrative structures and a relatively efficient civil service. The administrative organizations and civil services were efficient in so far as they were required to serve

[3] *Despatch from Secretary of State* reproduced in Grenada Government Gazette, Vol. 80. No. 44, July 28, 1962.

[4] *Report of a Commission of Enquiry into the Public Works Department of St. Vincent*, Government Printer, St. Vincent, September 1963.

[5] Ministerial Systems were introduced into the Leeward and Windward Islands in 1960.

static societies concerned primarily with law and order functions and the honest and efficient administration of revenue collection. But for societies now in a process of transition, the traditional civil service is no longer relevant. Administrative structures need to be remodelled and the orientation of public officials changed, if they are to perform effectively functions which are now essentially of a more dynamic and creative character. This presents special problems for older officials who have spent long years in the service and now occupy senior positions. These officials are deeply conditioned by existing structures, procedures and relationships which they tend to perpetuate and they fiercely resist attempts at change. It is not, however, desirable to concentrate exclusively on programmes for training younger civil servants and recruits. The result might be endless frustration since untrained older officials monopolize the decision-making positions.

Recruitment of Local Personnel

West Indian governments have difficulty in finding an adequate supply of recruits to the civil service even at the clerical grades – the lowest level of entry; and in the Leeward and Windward Islands, Public Service Commissions are forced to admit recruits who do not have the minimum entrance qualifications, that is a Cambridge School Certificate or General Certificate of Education.[6] The shortage of qualified candidates is due primarily to the lack of adequate secondary education facilities in most of the territories where school places are available for only a very small percentage of the population of secondary school-age. Moreover, in some islands there is insufficient provision for the teaching of subjects such as Mathematics and English, which are normally regarded as pre-requisites for civil service admission.

For the services of this small supply of qualified young men and women, governments have to compete with industrial and commercial firms which offer starting salaries well above those available in the civil service. In addition, until the recent enactment in the United Kingdom of legislation restricting immigration, the supply of possible recruits was further depleted by the migration of a significant proportion of young persons. There is a limit to the extent to which governments can increase salaries in order to attract candidates to the civil service and in the long run the supply of applicants can be increased only by a considerable expansion and improvement of secondary school facilities.

The administrative and executive grades of the public services in the region are staffed mainly by officers who entered at the clerical level and have risen by promotion through the ranks. This is inevitable in an area where, prior to the establishment of a local university seventeen years ago, only a negligible number of young men and women could obtain higher education by travelling to the United Kingdom and North America. However, this situation is gradually changing. More than a decade ago Jamaica and Trinidad accepted the recommendation of a Commission that performance of the work of the administrative service is likely to be improved if inducements are offered for the recruitment of candidates "who have enjoyed the benefits of

[6] See *Report of the Commission on Staffing Problems of the Public Services in the West Indies*, 1961-1962, Government of the West Indies, Port-of-Spain, 1962.

a university education and can demonstrate that they have derived full profit from it."[7] In these two countries young graduates enter the service as Administrative Cadets, the lowest rung of the administrative grade, and with the growing output of the University of the West Indies as a reservoir, the majority of recruits to the administrative service over the past five years have been university graduates. More recently, Barbados, too, has adopted this system, but in the Leeward and Windward Islands an administrative officer with a university education remains a rare bird.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING FOR THE PUBLIC SERVICE

The education and training of public officers will be discussed from two broad aspects – pre-entry and post-entry training, and it is logical to deal first with the preparation of recruits for entry into the service.

Pre-entry Training

There are differing views on the desirability and feasibility of providing specialised public administration training for men and women who are likely to follow civil service careers. The traditional British approach suggests that administrative skill is an art which is innate in the make-up of the efficient administrator or which at best can only be learnt by "picking it up on the job". This view is typified for instance by Sir Harold Banwell, a former local government official, who says "my feeling is that you cannot make an administrator by trying to give deliberate training in something called 'administration' ".[8] This concept of the good administrator is of a man with a broad and receptive mind acquired by exposure to a broad university education designed to sharpen his mental processes and to provide him with the tools for analytical and critical thought. Hence the emphasis in early British recruitment policy on the selection of recruits to the administrative class from men and women with a background of classical studies and history. But even in the United Kingdom this view has been modified by the increasing percentage of entrants with a social science education, and more so by the development of undergraduate and graduate courses in public administration at a number of British universities.

The French on the other hand, with strong traditions of a professional civil service, emphasize in the École Nationale d'Administration, a period of specialised pre-entry training for selected recruits – the processes of recruitment and training being more closely integrated than in the British public service system.

In the United States, there is a growing trend towards recruitment to administrative posts in Federal and State services, of college graduates, particularly those with a background of social studies; and facilities for teaching and research in public administration within university departments of political science and special schools of public administration have

[7] *Report of Commission on the Unification of the Public Services in the British Caribbean Area* – 1948-49, Advocate Co. Ltd., Barbados.

[8] A. Dunsire, ed.: *The Making of an Administrator*, (Manchester Univ. Press, 1956.)

expanded considerably. Yet a debate continues between the advocates of pre-entry preparation for government service by highly specialised vocational training in public administration and specific techniques such as organization and methods, and budgeting; and those who, on the other hand, prefer the British method of selecting administrative personnel from candidates having a wide liberal education and postponing specialized training until the post-entry stage.

My own view, derived from experience as a civil servant and as a teacher both of inexperienced undergraduates and of serving public officials, is that at the pre-entry stage it is preferable not to place emphasis on courses of a specialised and vocational nature. Efforts to teach the techniques of public administration to students who have had no experience in the service are not likely to be really effective. Training of this nature is most effective when undertaken by students with experience which can provide a frame of reference for their studies. For this reason, I incline to the approach of recruiting the best material available from the universities and secondary schools for administrative, executive and clerical functions in the civil service and giving those recruits specialised training only after they have been in the service for some years.

The Roles of Universities and of Governments

This does not however go far enough; the role of universities must be considered. A university set in a developing area ought to be alive to the special requirements of the area and should shape its curricula in part to meet these requirements. The view of a university as an institution whose purpose is to produce civilized and cultivated men and women is an estimable ideal; but countries like the West Indies which have slender resources and an over-riding need to secure rapid economic and social development, cannot afford the luxury of expending too large a share of these resources on producing educated people of this type.

In these circumstances a university must pursue two objectives in the provision of facilities for teaching and research in particular fields. One is the development of knowledge *per se;* the other is more practical: to contribute towards meeting the needs of the country for personnel trained in specific fields, for employment both in the public and private sectors. While the scope and character of a university should not be restricted lest it should become virtually a technical or vocational institution, high priority must be placed in a developing country on the provision of certain skills which the community needs; and these must be provided as quickly as is practicable having regard at the same time to quality.

In certain circumstances it may be necessary for a university to undertake functions which it would not normally be expected to perform. Thus in the West Indies, because of the urgent needs for trained civil servants at all levels and the inability of government agencies to provide these facilities at present, the University of the West Indies has had to perform some in-service training functions in the smaller territories for which better equipped governments normally assume responsibility. It is hoped that after the period of emergency is over, governments will be able to take on these responsibilities, drawing on the advice and assistance of the university where necessary.

A government also has an important responsibility to take a positive interest in the size and quality of the reservoir from which flow the streams of recruits for public employment. It should concern itself with the size of the annual intake of students in those areas of study which are relevant for public service employment, the periods of training involved and the nature of the education which is being provided in national educational institutions.

If this system is to be effective in producing qualified manpower for the public service, there should be close and continuous collaboration between those responsible for planning the development of university programmes and the government's recruitment and training agencies. More formal co-ordinating machinery can be established through advisory committees on training of the type found in the larger West Indian territories, for example, Jamaica where the training committee consists of representatives from the central personnel, establishment and training agencies, the economic planning unit and the civil service (staff) association. This committee advises on the planning of training programmes based on an assessment of long term needs for trained manpower and an evaluation of priorities within these needs. The committee's work could be more effective if membership included university representatives. Such machinery would keep university authorities informed at the planning stage, of the types of training on which governments are placing emphasis and on the other side, would provide governments with information about university plans for expansion in these areas. Co-ordination by these means could contribute towards bridging the gap between the stated requirements of governments and planned development to assist in supplying them.

Pre-entry Education for the Administrative Service

The needs of the West Indies suggest that the ranks of the public services should be staffed for the most part by persons with a broad education in the social sciences. The three-year undergraduate social science degree at the University of the West Indies has been designed in part to meet the requirements of governments and of the industrial and commercial sectors for generalist administrative personnel; and it is considered that these needs would best be served by a supply of graduates who have a wide spread of interdisciplinary education, rather than highly specialised training. This programme therefore consists of studies in economics, politics, sociology, statistics and history, and includes subjects such as public administration and public finance which are of value to students interested in a public service career. The course in public administration is conceived as a broad study of public administration in the modern state, including administrative theory, rather than the application of techniques. The approach is comparative, drawing on institutions and systems of administration in Western Europe, North America and the developing countries, special attention being paid to West Indian institutions and systems of government.

Post-entry Training for Public Servants

We turn now to a discussion of forms and methods of training for improving the quality and enhancing the usefulness of civil servants after they have entered public service employment. This article is concerned primarily

with administrative personnel, but it is important also to consider training for executive and clerical officers who provide indispensable supports for the work of the administrative group, and in some territories represent the major source of recruitment to the administrative grades.

Clerical and Junior Executive Levels

In nearly all West Indian territories, the young public servant, recruited fresh from high school to perform clerical and executive functions, finds himself in a strange environment where he is expected to learn entirely by experience on the job, without any background-information on the machinery of government within which he is set to work. These recruits need orientation training designed to give them at the start of their careers, information about the context of their work, an understanding of the constitutional system of their country, of the functions of, and the relationship between the main organs of government; an appreciation of the broad goals and objectives of the government; the code of behaviour expected of public servants; and the importance of maintaining good relations with their clients and employers - the public. In a narrower context training is also required to acquaint the young official with the system of financial regulations and procedures, with office procedures and methods of work and to instruct him in the writing of reports and memoranda.

Induction courses of this nature are not the responsibility of a university or of a school of public administration; they should be organized by the government's training officers as part of a continuous in-service training programme. Training officers can enlist the assistance of senior officials, including permanent secretaries and perhaps ministers also, as lecturers and discussion leaders. Morale and *esprit de corps* can be developed considerably through a training programme for junior officers in which senior officials take an active interest. A great responsibility devolves on supervisors to guide junior civil servants in the performance of their functions, and to show them how these functions fit into the overall work of the organization. But more than this is expected of supervisory officers; they should attempt to develop in the young official a spirit of public service and a feeling of involvement as a member of an organization which is devoted to public welfare and service.

Middle Executive and Junior Administration Levels

Training for public servants at middle executive and junior administrative levels has to be planned with two streams in view. The first consists of executive officers who show promise of becoming competent administrators and need to be prepared for moving into areas of the service where they will perform primarily administrative functions; and of junior administrative officers who have to be fitted for more responsible administrative work. When he reaches these higher levels the administrative officer shares the responsibility for advising his political head in the formulation of public policy and interpreting policy decisions for implementation by executive and professional/technical staff.

The second stream represents those executive officers who, while moving up the ladder, are likely to continue to perform primarily executive functions, often of a specialised or semi-technical character, and to assume supervisory

functions. The primary objective of training for these officers is to improve their skills and prepare them for promotion to higher levels in the executive grades.

Training for Administrative Functions: In Jamaica and Trinidad, young graduates who enter the service as administrative cadets spend their first two years moving between a number of ministries. They acquire useful training by working under the guidance and supervision of experienced officers before being promoted to the next level as administrative officers. This is a useful arrangement and one which might with advantage be adopted by other countries. The arrangements could, however, be improved by introducing these cadets to the civil service by a short period of orientation training intended as for clerical recruits (but on a more sophisticated level), to inculcate an awareness of the role of the civil servant in the governmental system and of the ethics of public service. This too is an in-service responsibility of government training officers working with the co-operation of the chief administrators of agencies and other senior officials.

Emphasis on the recruitment of university graduates to the administrative class does not however imply the total exclusion of non-graduate entrants. Even when the time comes that there is a sufficient supply of university educated candidates, there should always be scope for movement into the administrative class of able and experienced executive officers who show a capacity for administrative duties and who, given training, could make a contribution to work of this nature.

It is at this stage when the junior administrative officer has had about five years' and the promising executive officer about ten years' experience that specialised training in public administration and allied subjects is needed. Such training should be provided in a university or in a school of public administration attached to a university with teachers drawn mainly from the university's social sciences faculty. There is an advantage too in having qualified and experienced senior public officials as part-time lecturers and discussion leaders.

The programmes of training should be flexible, with a range of optional courses tailored to meet the requirements of individual officers depending on their educational background and experience. For example, executive officer-students without previous university education might be given elementary courses in economics, political science, sociology and statistics. They could then move to a second stage – a period of specialised training in public administration (principles and techniques), development planning, public finance and budgeting.

A training programme of this nature is likely to prove even more valuable to the public services if participants from the professional and technical services (doctors, engineers, law officers) and from local government authorities are included. The tendency towards conflict and friction in the relations between administrative and professional/technical personnel is intensified in West Indian public services as a result of a number of factors, primarily historical and educational.[9] There are obvious advantages in

[9] For a discussion of this problem, see G. E. Mills: "The Relative Roles of the Technician and the Administrator in the Public Service," article in *Report of Seminar on Organization and Administration of Public Health Services in the Caribbean*, PAHO, Washington D.C. 1963.

exposing a technical officer to training in administration since the closer he moves towards the top of an organization the less technical and the more administrative do his functions become. But apart from this, administrative and technical personnel are likely to benefit in a mutual appreciation of points of view when both groups are brought together in a training programme.

As to methods of instruction, my experience suggests that adult students derive greater benefit from teaching which takes the form of seminar-discussions than direct lecture-instruction. Unlike the average undergraduate, these students come to the university with a variety of work-experience which aids in stimulating discussion and enables them to make a real contribution to the programme. The use of case-studies is also supported in illustrating some of the problems and issues involved in decision-making and in the formulation, execution and review of public policy. It is, however, important to build up West Indian case material drawn from administrative situations within the students' experience as this would add to the value and relevance of the programme.[10]

Functional Training: I referred earlier to a second stream of middle executive officials who are likely to continue to perform functions of a specialised or semi-technical nature. In this category fall the middle level staffs of accounting, income tax, customs and statistics departments who need training in these specific skills at levels below university or professional standards. Courses of this type should be organized as part of a government's in-service programme. Government training officers can draw on teaching resources in the ministries and departments including officers who have themselves had university or professional training, and can turn to universities or schools of public administration for advice in organizing these programmes. Where local facilities and qualified local personnel are inadequate to undertake such training responsibilities, governments would need help from international agencies and countries such as the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America in training these middle level officials direct and/or training senior officials who will then be able to conduct future courses. Similar considerations apply to techniques such as organization and methods, budgeting and personnel management.

Senior Administrative Officers

What of the training of senior officials who have responsibilities for advising ministers on policy and for supervising the work of ministries, departments, or divisions? For the most part long formal courses of instruction are not appropriate for this grade of official. In any event, because of the limited personnel resources of West Indian governments, most of these officers could not be released from their duties for nine-month or one-year courses.

It is suggested that the most suitable courses at this level are short seminars running for periods of say two or three weeks, with discussions on subjects

[10] The University of the West Indies has been conducting, since 1960 (initially with a grant from the Carnegie Corporation), a one-year programme of this type for serving administrative and technical officials leading to a Diploma in Public Administration. This programme includes a course in Public Finance given by the Financial Secretary to the Government of Jamaica.

such as the problems of planning, development administration and management; and conferences on particular problems, for example, the relations between the professional/technical expert and the administrator, where senior officials can have opportunities of airing their problems and exchanging views with their colleagues and others. For these seminars and conferences university teachers with special expertise and overseas consultants can act as discussion leaders and resource personnel; universities can also perform the role of sponsors and offer facilities for holding such conferences.

In addition to these arrangements, senior officials, and especially those who have spent all their lives in their home country, need a short spell abroad where they might attend seminars covering broad problems relevant to their own circumstances, exchanging views and experiences with officials from differing backgrounds, or might broaden their perspectives by a period spent in observing the practices of another country in a similar field.

There is also a case for selecting a few senior officials for types of training which are not readily available at home. For this purpose a special institution for top-level training in administration developed on the lines suggested by the Bridges Committee would be useful.[11]

TRAINING OVERSEAS

These overseas courses should however be restricted for the most part to senior officers. Administrative personnel from the West Indies and other Commonwealth countries have benefited from training programmes such as the Overseas Courses (Devonshire) held at Oxford, Cambridge and London and from programmes for public officers conducted by other United Kingdom universities and North American schools. On the other hand, the usefulness of these courses is limited by the fact that the young civil servant at junior and middle levels requires in addition to a broad education in theory and comparative studies, an orientation towards the problems, institutions and conditions of the society in which he is working; and this can be adequately provided only in a local institution. Later, when he reaches the higher rungs of the service he will be better able to benefit from the broadening of outlook which comes from travelling and observing institutions and practices in other countries.

In conclusion, mention should be made of the difficulty which governments of small countries have in releasing personnel from their slender establishments for long courses of training. Where university institutions exist as in Jamaica, Trinidad and Barbados, this difficulty can be partly overcome by an arrangement for part-time courses which civil servants could attend after normal working hours. The problem is more serious for governments in the Leeward and Windward Islands. These territories operate on minimal financial and personnel resources but their difficulties are aggravated because they are islands separated by sea from the main centres of university education.[12] In order to surmount these handicaps arrangements are being made, with support from a grant generously given by the Ford Foundation, to

[11] *Report of Bridges Committee* (*op. cit*), paras. 83-88.

[12] The University of the West Indies is however represented in each of these islands by a Resident Tutor on the staff of the Extra-Mural Department, who organizes and conducts classes in a variety of subjects for persons unable to attend the University.

establish centres in the Leewards and Windwards under the aegis of the University of the West Indies, where training will be provided locally in general administration and functional skills for civil servants of these islands. The secondment for work in these territories, of instructors in practical administration from the United Kingdom would assist considerably in supplementing these facilities. So too would United Kingdom aid in conducting courses of training for government training officers.[13]

We expect these programmes to make a significant contribution towards improvement of the quality and standards of the public services in the area. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that despite their limited resources, West Indian governments must regard training as an investment which will ultimately return dividends in more efficient service though it involves short term sacrifices in funds and personnel. Unless serious and concentrated efforts are devoted to training programmes the public services will progressively deteriorate and will eventually collapse.[14]

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[13] See *Report of Bridges Committee*, paras. 56–59.

[14] The urgent need to devote greater attention to training for the Jamaican Public Service has been stressed in two recent publications: B.L. St. J. Hamilton, *Problems of Administration in an Emergent Nation*, F. A. Praeger, Inc., 1964; and *Public Administration in Jamaica*, Report of a Commission appointed by the United Nations (Commission for Technical Assistance), 1965.

Administrative Training: Notes on Syllabus

By C. M. CHADWICK

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THESE notes are primarily concerned with the syllabus of general administrative training courses for serving officers in the executive and clerical grades who have been selected for possible promotion to the administrative grade, mainly at ministry headquarters.

In deciding what to include in such a course it is easy enough to argue the "importance" of a particular subject. It is far harder to relate this to criteria of effectiveness. The difficulty is more than one of the aptness of training methods and material for it raises the whole question of the validation of training. How is one to tell if a course of training has made a trainee better at his job or if a series of courses has really had a tangible effect on the efficiency of the civil service? And if it is impossible to find out with any certainty what effect training has had, how is one to draw up course programmes with any confidence that they will do what is required of them, if even this can be determined?

One answer to these questions rests on the Act of Faith theory which is that one believes, because one has to, that the quality of one's training material and techniques is all the proof one can hope for. This theory is sometimes supported by testimony, from the Other Side as it were, that such and such a course 'has helped me very much in my work'. But feed-back, whether by means of questionnaire, confidential reports or end-of-course review, though it has its uses, is a superficial and unreliable means of assessment. The motives behind it are often suspect since it tends to applaud, or otherwise, the intention behind a course, the way subjects were put across, their intrinsic interest or theoretical usefulness, etc., rather than provide a measure of improvement in terms of actual performance. Who is to judge this and how? Provided it is neither complacent nor dogmatic, the Act of Faith theory may be the best there is if there can be no real validation, but it remains a deceptive comfort to know without actually knowing.

The kind of training in question is distinct from the learning of procedures or the acquiring of factual knowledge. These are either learnt and successfully applied or they are not, and so such training needs no validation even if its methods may. But where the pattern of training is for trainees to attend general administrative courses at a central institute and then to be posted to more or less specialist work in ministries, a large part of such training has to take place on the job. The main disadvantage of on-the-job training is that more often than not it does not take place; but over a wide range of activity this is where it has to, particularly where there are few departmental training schemes or none at all.

What is under discussion here, then, is the content of the general training course at administrative level. (Much of what is said may also apply to the executive level. The dividing line between the two is often difficult to draw).

The length of courses is not considered but a period of from four to six months would seem to be about average. Deciding on length, however, may depend as much on how long trainees can be spared as on what sort of training they should receive and how much of it; but given a reasonable period, length is less important than laying down the basic objectives of a syllabus. Planning that proceeds from questions of length may lead to devising a syllabus in terms of how much can be packed into it and to a subsequent blurring of objectives. It is these that must come first in spite of the difficulty that past experience and stated policy are instinctual, shadowy guides which lack the flesh and bones of validation.

Objectives

A useful distinction is made by Sir John Adams between *learning* which is result as well as process and *studying* which is confined to process and in which the advancing pupil is increasingly his own teacher.[1] In the light of this distinction it could be said that the emphasis of general administrative training should be primarily on *studying*. While certain information obviously has to be imparted and learnt this tends only to constitute a framework of knowledge, which, however essential in theory, can so easily be forgotten except as a vague impression of some 'overall picture', if it is remembered at all. This will be discussed more fully later. The point is that putting over the administrative facts of life is no substitute for training in processes of thought by examining, testing and developing them in administrative situations. The old way to do this was by trial and error on the job, but this is a wasteful and haphazard path to success. In a newly independent country the path is also far too long. Thus the basic aim is to provide compressed experience in the safety of the classroom environment, which not only takes in as wide a variety of administrative problems as possible but also condenses the process by which the ability to handle *any* problem develops.

It is all very well to talk about 'training to think' instead of imparting information, if the training material and methods used do no more than *illustrate* administrative situations for the purpose of analysis or discussion and if in the end they can only be said to have displayed a range of second-hand experience instead of cultivating habits of mind for dealing with them. Talking about the reproduction of a problem is not the same thing as thinking the problem itself through. The former may appear to be stimulating insight but if insight is to have any meaning as an objective of training its momentary stimulation by this or that case study is of little account unless it can be converted into a lasting capacity of the mind. One also has to be on one's guard against shibboleths like 'mind-stretching' and 'vision-widening' which on inspection are often found to be empty phraseology. So much that comes under headings of this kind does nothing to turn someone into a fuller person, whatever that may mean, nor into a better administrator, which means a great deal.

General Background Subjects

'This is something every potential administrator should know and he must therefore be told about it.' Any subject that is described by vague phrases

[1] *Modern Developments in Educational Practice* – page 156.

of this kind needs scrutiny. The first and most obvious danger is that subjects which are thought to be important because they represent an important aspect of government activity have a tendency to turn the syllabus into a rag-bag of material into which as much as possible has been crammed. The second danger is that such subjects may get into the programme without any thought as to whether the information to be imparted, usually by means of a lecture,[2] will be retained in any form at all. Students will be told all about 'The Work of the Fisheries Department', for example, because it is important, because they ought to know where that department fits into the general scheme of things. True, but what will actually have been gained? How long will it be before that hour of attentiveness fades from, at best, genuine interest into oblivion?

It is suggested that before including a general background subject in a syllabus two sets of questions should be asked:

(*a*) If it is intended as part of a series dealing with an 'overall picture', how does it fit in with the rest of the picture as a stage in the process of seeing it as a whole? Or is it just another example of the desire to crowd in as many facts as possible on the grounds of its interest or importance or merely to fill in a blank in the programme?

(*b*) How is it connected with the work trainees will be required to do either on the course or when they go back to their jobs? Will they be able to apply what they are told? Without practical relevance, it will remain 'important' but will it be remembered? What activity will re-inforce it?

These guides of course are no more than a simplified version of some of the principles of the learning process, that it is 'unitary' and that if it is to be effective it must be thought of 'in terms of activity and experience rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored'.[3] If these and other educational principles are ignored the result will not only be time wasted but the illusion that training is by some miracle taking place when it isn't.

Similarly, there is the 'visit' whose sole purpose is to let trainees 'see things they ought to see'. But here again, if there is no activity, no project, no design of which the visit forms a part, there will have been little if any benefit, however valuable the outing may have been as a break from the classroom. The traditional Project Assignment in one form or another is the best way of making effective use of a series of visits. The subjects chosen for assignments should be live ones so that groups of students are not only asked to produce a descriptive report of some aspect of government organization, for example;

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[2] Research into the advantages and disadvantages of the lecture method as a teaching technique seems to be inconclusive. But clearly the lecture, in one form or another still has its place in all teaching if only because it is often unavoidable. In the chapter on "Teaching Methods" in *Education for Administrative Careers in Government Service* (ed. Stephen B. Sweeney) it is said that 'Educators are generally agreed that so far as the teaching of elementary subject matter is concerned the lecture method is as good as any other'. And in *Educational Psychology*, Donald Ross Green points out that "studies comparing 'telling' or 'direction' with 'discovery' procedures have produced rather inconsistent results". The trouble is that it is difficult to establish what things are best learnt in what way even within a single subject. It all seems to depend on such imponderable factors as the degree of 'direction' even in 'undirected' studies. However, I am mainly concerned here with assumptions about the subject-matter which a series of lectures is supposed to cover. No-one is likely to need reminding that the lecture method itself is frequently no sort of method of all!

[3] *The Nation's Schools* – Ministry of Education pamphlet.

the terms of reference should also require them to make positive recommendations in their reports as to what changes should be made, the policy that should be followed in future and so forth. Exercises tried at the staff training college with some success have included: groundnut marketing policy; civil servants' housing; clerical training; and milk marketing. All these involved current problems of policy and students' report were examined in detail in full session with senior officials of the ministries concerned.

Theoretical Subjects

Much of what has been said about general background subjects is true of such subjects as economics or systems of government. Giving students perspective or a conceptual framework for the better understanding of their own country would seem to be both desirable and common-sense. On the face of it such studies can only encourage such qualities as objectivity and breadth of mind. But again, the question must be asked: To what extent is the trainee's mind really exercised and broadened? Unless such studies are relevant and involve practical activity they may merely provide parcels of facts of no real and lasting value. Moreover, the value of teaching academic subjects in potted or survey form is always questionable. This tends to cultivate lazy and superficial habits of thought which are accustomed to taking in over-simplified ideas about a subject in a generalised form without gaining any real understanding of its scope and complexity.

Take economics for example. A series of sessions on economic theory may seem essential in the training of future administrators. But how much do such sessions really achieve? Again, they are likely to come under the heading of learning which is neither sustained nor converted into experience and which is therefore no sort of learning at all. Of far greater value is time spent on a detailed study of the local machinery and framework of planning, out of which should grow a working knowledge, at once practical and theoretical, of the relevance of economics to the nation's progress.

Similarly, little is gained by trying to teach political or constitutional theory in the abstract. What has to be decided first is what practical knowledge needs to be acquired and to work up case files, with exercises, which exemplify and give experience of the parliamentary and legislative processes, the function of Cabinet and so forth. Concrete experience of the constitution and government machinery in action comes first; it can then be broadened if necessary by comparison with alternative systems of government and by connecting these with political theory in general.

Equally, in teaching law far more is gained by devising exercises which require students to apply the law to administrative situations. This will help them to find their way through the laws which is as much as the normal administrator needs to do. To try to give him instead 'a smattering of the law' is likely to give him next to nothing.

On the other hand, Mr. A. L. Adu has said that "there must be a conscious inclusion in the syllabus of every training course the preparation and orientation of the minds and attitudes of all trainees to make them aware of the political, economic and social background against which they have to relate their day-to-day responsibilities. Only if there is a planned and determined effort to achieve this as part of the training process is it possible to make the

Civil Service work in consonance with the policies and impetus of the Government."[4] With this objective no-one would wish to quarrel. It is its realisation that is the problem. Statements of the ideal have a tendency to spread a mist over the means necessary for their fulfilment. In the light of what has already been said it should be enough to underline the words *planned* and *determined* and look twice at the word *orientation*. 'Awareness of background' summarily describes a mental characteristic that can be assumed rather than determined. If it is to have any real practical significance it needs to be developed out of other studies, as 'taste' develops out of critical experience of the arts. One cannot aim to teach a descriptive concept; one can only provide experience and enlarge a capacity to deal with it which in time may give the concept substance.

Practical Studies

It has already been stressed that the emphasis in administrative training should be on process rather than knowledge. This does no more than underline the central and traditional importance of case-study and case-file work to training in administrative practice.

No attempt will be made here to examine the advantages of any particular case-study method but to draw attention to some general principles in terms of which the effectiveness of any method may be judged.

It may be said that the objective of all case-study work is to develop sustained and logical thinking habits, but this does not go very far since it says nothing about how such habits are developed. Objectives and the means of their achievement are inseparable. It is only too easy to persuade oneself that by individual or collective examination of a new administrative problem the mental capacity of students has been increased when in fact they have only exercised a sustained and logical thinking habit they already possess. This may be termed 'the eyesight fallacy' which is that seeing something new adds to the power of one's eyesight.

Or it may be said that all case-study work should be qualitative in the sense that it should improve reasoning powers by testing them against real or imaginary situations. But once the testing is over, what has happened to the reasoning powers other than that they have been tested? This may be termed 'the muscular fallacy' which is that measuring a man's arm muscles increases his ability to lift weights.

Or one may say that the purpose of case-study work is to give practice in the critical examination of information and opinion, in sifting it and analysing it and reaching conclusions from it. This is certainly one of the most important administrative procedures and good administrators do it well but what is the mental skill that facilitates it? This may be termed 'the wheat-and-chaff fallacy' which is that sorting one thing from another automatically enables one to sort something else from something else.

All the above objectives are of course perfectly sound provided, again, one is quite sure the stated objective does not become a substitute for the ways of attaining it. All case studies are intended to be 'the real stuff' of the job trainees will be required to do – this is the point of them. But if this is all they are, actual circumstances will only turn out to be that much more real –

[4] The Civil Service in New African States – p. 234.

too real to bear any useful resemblance 'to that case-study thing we looked at on our course'. It is the virtue of resemblance that may expose its vices. Where an ex-trainee finds himself searching for a similarity between a case-study he met in training and a problem that faces him in his work, it may suggest that training has done little for him. It may even have done him harm since he will tend to search back through his course for clues as to methods and solutions and will find only misleading parallels. It is this kind of dependence which may reveal that something has gone wrong with training, one of whose primary aims is to increase independence of mind and judgement. In short while no two problems are ever quite the same, there are constants in the mental process for dealing with any problem and it is at these that training should be directed.

One of the dangers with case-studies is that lively discussion[5] of a problem can give the impression that the case-study is achieving its purpose. But discussion alone may be no more than a collective monologue in which students merely defend and strengthen attitudes they already have. This is not learning, it is self-assertion. It is therefore necessary to keep in mind what every discussion should achieve. If 'learning consists in making modifications in the way the individual perceives the world'[6], discussion should aim not only at revealing conflicts but in breaking down and re-forming the attitudes, ideas and thought-processes which caused them. On the whole it is better that a problem should first be tackled by students individually by means of a written excercise. This helps to prevent discussion from becoming aimless and repetitive, however much it may help 'the instructor to get to know his students'[7]. It will also greatly facilitate the essential process of analysing step by step the way in which the problem can be handled. This is to say that if discussion is to be fruitful it must be controlled. It is not to commit the heresy of suggesting it should be led towards a foregone conclusion. The 'modifications' are thus not only of a student's general outlook but also of the limitations of the ways in which his performance was governed by that outlook in a given situation.

A. G. and E. H. Hughes have written, "Sometimes we arrive at a conclusion by well-defined stages, by considering an accumulation of well-arranged evidence and by the gradual elimination of possibilities. . . . At other times we do not see each step of the way; we jump to conclusions. Our procedure is imaginative rather than logical. This is what in everyday life we sometimes call guessing. A good guess is not a wild random shot. It is the outcome of knowledge gained by previous concentration on the problem. On the other hand, it cannot be compared with the steady following of a trail. . . . Whenever we arrive at a new conclusion our thinking has to some

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[5] The discussion method like the lecture method has been the subject of psychological research. One conclusion of this research is that "However impressive the theoretical value of the discussion method, the few controlled experiments which have been conducted in recent years have failed to substantiate the educational advantages claimed for it". (*Education for Administrative Careers in Government Service ed. Sweeney*). One obvious difference between the two methods is while an ineffectual lecture is readily seen for what it is, a 'discussion' so often seems to have been fruitful merely because a lot of people have done a lot of talking. The educational illusions inherent in the latter are far harder to determine.

[6] *Human Relations and Administration* ed. Kenneth R. Andrews – p. 64

[7] *Ibid.*

extent been of this adventurous, imaginative kind. Even the systematic elimination of possibilities that seems to be so essentially a matter of careful and ordered procedure could not have been carried out successfully unless the possibilities had first been discovered or imagined"[8]. The relevance of this admirable account to administrative training hardly needs pointing out. Elsewhere the authors speak of 'training in the art of reasoning and of testing conclusions'; of the need for students to 'examine their own general statements and see on what individual experiences these statements were based'; of gaining knowledge of the processes of deduction and induction; and of 'a knowledge of logical forms' which 'though not essential for correct thinking, is very valuable for teachers, for it should help to make them sensitive to fallacies in arguments'. If all the above is held to be central to the objectives of administrative training, there should be less reason for concerning oneself exclusively with the merits of the various kinds of case method and case material. Discussion on these usually seems to turn on questions of realism or of the simulation of "live" experience. While these questions are important they are less important than the need to discover what use can be made of all the subjects in the programme to develop systematically and progressively the scope and powers of the mind. The experience of a course should be both the sum-total and fusion of all the facts encountered on it. The aim of the course should be to convert those facts into faculties.

Thus if learning, or studying, is a unitary process, the emphasis in case-study work should be less on the individual merit of case-studies and more on their relation to one another. First, they should be continuous. The lessons that have been learnt from one should be extended and broadened in the next. Secondly, they should be used to form methodical thinking habits that develop through the process of practice, consolidation and being tested against new situations. Thirdly, they should gradually build up a clear understanding of the decision-making process and the role of the administrator in the formulation and carrying out of government policy.

What has been said is intended to point out ways in which the use of case studies may not achieve what it sets out to achieve. It is not simply a question of deciding which of many case study techniques to use (they doubtless all have their place) but of relating these techniques to the development of ability. So that although much may be gained from individual case studies, more will be gained if the skills that are exercised are enabled to grow from one case study to the next. This also has the virtue of giving students a sense of their expanding powers, so vital in all training. As has been said, it is a poor alternative to use case studies merely as illustrations of different types of problems and of procedure. Training in the analysis of isolated examples of compressed experience is not enough by itself. It is only part of a process that should aim at developing the kind of ability that grows in confidence, grasp of detail and finally, if this is not too wild an expression to use of the public servant, an imaginative originality of thought.

Human Relations

It is sometimes said that 'Human Relations', 'Interviewing' and 'Communications' should not be taught as separate subjects; that they are only

[8] *Learning and Teaching* p. 177.

general headings for issues that arise out of experience. There is a danger that in trying to include these topics in a course programme the purpose will be simply to distribute a set of precepts, or even useful tips, of practical psychology as guides to students in how to handle human beings. While tact, imagination, leadership, sympathy and so forth are important qualities for any administrator, can they be taught as qualities? If they are by, say, a series of lectures on human behaviour, they will be remembered as ideas which neither constitute a body of knowledge nor can be applied and, again, what is not applied is likely to be lost. But, worse, attempts to apply potted psychological theory are as likely as not to confuse a trainee who may well have it in him, pragmatically or by instinct, to handle people well. What he can be taught, however, is to understand and clarify what he already knows and to subject his attitudes to the test of objectivity. It is not, for example, the anatomy of human motivation that one should aim to teach but the importance of perceiving motives and consequences, of delving into a situation to find the real facts and all the facts. As with other types of case study, this can best be achieved by experiencing a situation and watching it develop. (The role-playing technique is valuable here). A series of 'human relations' case studies should thus take the place of, rather than exemplify or underline, bits and pieces of psychological theory. What matters in this context is understanding human beings as individuals in order to get the best out of them, not in order to be able to generalise about them.

What at all costs should be avoided surely is a session labelled 'techniques of interviewing'. All interviews are with people whose needs and wants are peculiar to themselves. They are not categories for which it is only necessary to find the right techniques.

English

Unless the standard of English is poor it is doubtful whether English should be taught as a separate subject on administrative or executive courses. The basic need in teaching English at these levels is in the ordering and presentation of ideas rather than in formal grammar, sentence construction, word-usage etc. Where a student's English is weak it can best be improved by individual remedial work in tutorials. One student's difficulties will differ from those of another and it is time-wasting to deal in class with anything that only needs to be learnt by a few.

Individual written exercises that arise out of case study work are the best way of finding out what problems students have in their use of language and most of these, as has been said, can be dealt with in tutorials. But far more important than weakness in the use of language is weakness in the ability to arrange ideas briefly, logically and clearly though the latter almost always follows from the former. This in fact is where one of the main objectives of training lies. The best possible analysis and understanding of a situation is worthless unless it is well argued and well set out. So often is it essential in class to go through the rather laborious process of listing points on the blackboard and rearranging and combining them in the most logical order before the drafting stage begins. Repetition, long-windedness, ambiguity, *non-sequiturs*, faulty arguments, illogicality, irrelevance, ideas in the wrong order and so forth should be primary targets of training. It would probably be impossible to spend too much time on them.

Apart from the use of the written exercise in the normal course of case file work, they can also be tackled by means of what might be called 'case studies in miniature'. A simple letter-writing exercise for example may pose a simple problem where students have little difficulty in deciding what has to be said but disagree and falter over how to say it. Re-writing a letter that is written in officialese will not only teach the kind of phase and word that ought to be avoided, it will also give practice in breaking down and reorganising what the writer is trying to say. Similarly précis or summary work strengthens the habit of distinguishing the important from the less important as well as of re-arranging the order of ideas and in this it ties in with practice in minute-taking.

Another important aspect of English teaching is the importance of increasing students' reading efficiency. The results of our limited experience of 'quicker reading' at the staff training college have been inconclusive. While students have shown a marked improvement with Edward Fry's material,[9] we have not determined the extent to which this improvement is maintained or whether in fact adequate comprehension and faster reading speeds can be transferred to the far more complex material students come up against in their work. In spite of arguments to the contrary there is still doubt as to whether increased speed is not sometimes at the expense of comprehension, and surely the administrator should aim at 100 per cent comprehension before he should attempt to read faster. The relation between the two is somewhat obscure if only because so much depends on the mental ability and basic grasp of language of the individual student. There is also the problem of how the powers of comprehension tested in quicker reading exercises can be distinguished from skill in memorizing. However, if 'quicker reading' really does achieve more than simply curing students of bad reading habits there is certainly a place for it in an administrative training course but one would first like to have a more job-centred range of material to work with and more positive evidence of its long-term effects.

"ETHOS"

It remains only to say a word about what is sometimes called the "ethos" of a public service on which so much of its efficiency depends. Standards of impartiality, responsibility, discipline, loyalty, a sense of dedication and so forth evolve over a period of many years and it is doubtful whether training courses can have more than a marginal effect in shaping them. But where a large number of civil servants pass through a central institute during these years, they are bound to have some effect. The question is whether training should deliberately aim to cultivate these standards and if so, how?

To some extent, they are arising all the time out of most of the subjects dealt with with in a course. For example in letter-writing sessions much will have to be said about relations with the public, and human relations case studies will raise many issues such as the exercise of authority and attitudes towards work. But this incidental approach seems unsatisfactory when the opportunity to do a great deal more in this direction seems far too important to miss. There are several possibilities. Sessions can be set aside for seminar

[9] *Reading Faster – A Drill Book.*
Teaching Faster Reading.

discussion of these problems. Students can be asked to write essays and give lectures on aspects of them, both of which would involve a certain amount of reading.[10] Group reports can be drawn up clarifying and defining basic principles. Another possibility, and perhaps the best, is for senior civil servants to be invited to take part in discussions at the stage when a group report is submitted to full session. This may also be found to be a fruitful way of maintaining the closest contact between training and those who carry high responsibilities for the shaping not only of policy but also of character of the service as a whole.

It is almost invariably a mistake to deal with such matters as national ideals and the ethics of the public service by means of the straight lecture. Students will either resent being preached at or simply not understand what specifically it has to do with them. Instead one can use short case studies or 'incidents' which illustrate typical situations and lead through discussion to a sharper awareness of the everyday importance of standards and ideals. Yet again, it is a question of allowing generalized understanding to emerge from experience of the particular; of developing the scope of the mind by putting it to work rather than by loading it with ephemeral ideas and precepts.

[10] One tries to do what one can to encourage students to read books related to administrative studies or indeed books and journals of any kind. On an intensive practical administrative training course, however, students have little time to make intelligent use of the Library and are often unwilling to do so on their own initiative. But no opportunity should be lost to broaden the areas of study with lists of required reading, however short. If an enquiring mind is one of the essential qualities of the good administrator, he must be assumed to be suffering from a certain handicap if he has not acquired the habit of using, or even just reading, books.

The Application of Various Training Methods in Malawi

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Introduction

Like all other institutes of public administration, the Malawi institute uses a variety of well known training devices to reinforce the normal lecture technique in teaching the various practical aspects of public administration. This articles briefly describes the application of some of the familiar methods which we use, and attempts to assess the efficacy of these methods and their development in the Malawi context.

Lectures

We are very alive to the dangers of the modern tendency to assume that all established methods of training are by definition bad and that an effective training programme must therefore consist entirely of gimmicks.[1] We believe that the backbone of training is still the lecture,[2] and must continue to be so. At the same time we are careful to avoid the formal, 'university' type lecture,[3] with the lecturer talking uninterruptedly for fifty minutes and perhaps allowing ten minutes at the end for questions. Instead, we take great pains to ensure that there is student-participation throughout, with the lecturer breaking off frequently to allow questions and the collection of views.

In two ways which are possibly worth mentioning we use the lecture in a slightly unusual manner.

Every course for administrative and executive officers starts with a lecture by each of the permanent secretaries and the more important heads of departments, all of whom speak in broad terms on the policy, plans, organisation and methods of their ministry or department.[4] By this method the students acquire a very full picture of the structure of government, of the inter-dependence of ministries and departments, and of the personalities at the top of the civil service. They also acquire an authoritative and up-to-date knowledge of what the government is doing in the various spheres of its activity.

[1] The point, concerning case studies, is well put in "*Case Study Practice*"; British Institute of Management, by A. C. Stuart-Clark at p. v and by Avice V. Turnbull at p. 40.

[2] The advantages and disadvantages of the lecture are succinctly discussed by Anne F. Leeman in "*Teaching Methods: A Survey*", in "*Education in Public Administration*", Ed. Donald C. Stone, at p. 32.

[3] For an adverse criticism of the "pure" form of lecture, see "*Teaching Methods – Course Instruction*" by Fredrick T. Bent and Joseph E. McLean in "*Education for Administrative Careers* in *Government Service*". Ed. Stephen B. Sweeney, at pp. 82 and 83.

[4] A similar "large scale use of public officials" is used at the Institute of Social Studies, the Hague; see Anne F. Leeman, "*Teaching Methods: A Survey*", in "*Education in Public Administration*", Ed. Donald C. Stone, at p. 32.

Secondly, in the course of lectures on the principles of practical public administration, we use the formal lectures as a "core" and illustrate the various aspects by case study discussions. The cases, in effect, are "tuitional satellites", each major point made in the course of lectures being driven home in a case study discussion.[5] We tie the lectures and the cases closely together and thereby avoid the impression that lectures and cases are aimed at two different targets. This method adds little to the case technique, but a great deal to the lecture technique. Some of the reality and liveliness of case discussions are imparted to the lecture; we are able to refer to characters and incidents which are well known to the students from their case discussions; the lecture becomes more practical as the "tuitional satellites" sprinkle a little stardust of reality onto the rather dry and barren subjects of planning, organisation, direction, co-ordination and control.

Case Studies

The case study plays a major part in training in Malawi although we realise that it is "not a recently-discovered panacea that will solve all teaching and training problems in the public administration field".[6] The form which our discussion takes is possibly a little different from that generally used elsewhere.

We divide each course of twenty students into three or four small groups, each under a tutor acting as case-leader, and we discuss the case, which may be from one page of foolscap typescript to six pages long, in great detail,[7] paragraph by paragraph. Unless the discussion becomes pointless, the tutor follows all avenues of discussion, and the students pursue valuable points incidental to the main theme and cover a great deal of ground. The case leader frequently finds that the students discover important aspects of the case which appear not to have been deliberately written into the case. The case writer, however, compiles the case, well knowing that small, and apparently incidental points may lead to detailed discussion. He throws these points in for good measure and realises that they may or may not be used. Whether they are used depends on the case leader and on the group. The central theme is, however, never allowed to be submerged by the case writer or by the case leader.

These detailed discussions take place in two hour sessions and may take as much as ten hours to complete. During this time the usual method is to start by seeking the general impressions of the students upon first reading the case. Then each student in turn reads aloud a paragraph and general discussion follows, whilst another student takes notes of what is said. Periodically the case leader summarises the views of the group and compares them with the first impressions given at the beginning of the discussion. Frequently the tutor uses impromptu role playing, that "first cousin' of the

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[5] The opposite technique of using the case study, as a focus for the remainder of the course, is described in "*Case Study Practice*", British Institute of Management, by Avice V. Turnbull, at p. 38.

[6] Edwin A. Bock, "*Case Studies in Teaching and Training*", in "*Education in Public Administration*", Ed. Donald C. Stone, at p. 98.

[7] The "desirability of allowing enough time for ample exploration of the issues in each. . . . case" and of "allowing extended classroom discussion" is dealt with by Harold Stein in "*Public Administration and Policy Development*" at p. xxxii.

case method",[8] in the course of a discussion to demonstrate points which arise and to test the practical validity of solutions suggested by the students.[9]

Finally, when detailed discussion of the case is completed, a separate and often quite short session brings the various groups together. Each group reads aloud a brief report and then the tutor who is handling this final session selects the salient and common features from the reports, and summarises the discussions. It is in this session that we emphasise the broader aspects of the case.

By having three or four groups, each under a separate tutor, simultaneously discussing the same case we cover a wider selection of the possible approaches to the case and find stimulating comparisons as each group is able to criticise and benefit from the analysis of the others. Furthermore, by breaking the discussion into two parts, firstly the detailed discussion and secondly the general analysis and summary, we avoid the difficulty of deciding whether to emphasise the detailed aspects or the major themes of the case.

Study in Form Design and Analysis

This study also takes quite a long time but has a number of useful facets.

Very early in the course we give a straightforward lecture on the principles of form design. From this starting point we expand the study progressively through a series of related exercises which culminate in the analysis of information obtained from a large number of forms. In order to make the study relevant and 'alive', we base all the exercises on forms which concern the students' own personal particulars.

After the lecture the students individually design their own 'model' forms and these are collectively, but anonymously, criticised. Between us, we design an 'ideal' form and supply each student with as many of these forms as there are students on the course, usually twenty. Each student then has to fill in all twenty forms with his own personal particulars; name, age, experience, education, interests, etc. This enables the students to put to practical test the criticisms that were made earlier. It also impresses upon them the desirability of requiring people who have to fill in forms, especially members of the public, to do only the minimum amount of work necessary. Each student then distributes to his colleagues the forms he has completed so that ultimately each has one copy of every other student's form. This 'distribution exercise' in itself presents a simple but effective administrative problem in the art of organisation. Each student, being in possession of one form from each of his colleagues, is required to collate the information contained on those forms and to analyse it in detail.

The students then put to the test the quality of the work done during this stage, under a barrage of "parliamentary questions" concerning the personal particulars of the course. The lecturer initiates the main questions but we encourage the students to ask detailed supplementary questions of each other, the only limitations being that the answers must be obtainable from

[8] Frederick T. Bent and Joseph E. McLean in "*Teaching Methods - Course Instruction*", in "*Education for Administrative Careers* in *Government Service*", Ed. Stephen B. Sweeney, at p. 93.

[9] Edwin Bock suggests using role-playing to develop interest and understanding of actual characters in a case study; see "*Essays on the Case Method in Public Administration*", Ed. Edwin Bock, at p. 88.

the forms, and the questioner himself must know the answer to his question. A typical question might be: "Would the Honourable Minister please inform the House of how many students at the Institute of Public Administration have previous experience in government service, what is the average age of those students and the average length of service?" From such a question might follow a difficult supplementary; "Are these figures typical of the whole country or are there differences between Regions?"

Those students who appear to have made the most penetrating and exact analyses form a small committee to draw up a final and comprehensive analysis of the personnel of their course. This final survey is of considerable use to the staff of the Institute and also enables the students to view their course as a whole and to learn a lot about each other.

The objectives of this study are; firstly, to teach the principles which should be observed when designing forms and to give practice in designing them; secondly, to arouse and develop the students' critical and analytical faculties; thirdly, to develop in the students an appreciation of the value of, and need for, being factual and precise in thinking, speaking and writing; fourthly, to introduce students to various methods of handling statistical and other information; fifthly, to provide the institute with statistical information about each course of students.

The "Churchill Minute"

In this exercise we hand to the student, early in the morning, a minute marked, "Today, on one sheet of foolscap only, please let me have a synopsis of....." and there follows the title of a file to be found either in the archives or in a ministry registry.

The file, usually a fat one, will have been very carefully selected in advance and we will have secured the co-operation of the archivist or registry superintendent. The student then locates the relevant file or files and spends the rest of the day toiling away at its contents. In the late afternoon he starts to compile his synopsis and by early evening his work should be completed.

The advantages of this training technique are numerous. The student becomes familiar with government methods of minuting and filing, and he learns a great deal about the way "the big men" handle public affairs; he sees minutes written by governors, the prime minister, ministers and senior civil servants. He learns to isolate the important documents from the less important and learns how to condense a large amount of varied material into a useful, short synopsis. He learns also the value of clarity and precision of expression. He gains experience in working under extreme pressure since the time at his disposal is strictly limited. Finally, since the files are carefully selected, the subjects are such as will provide useful background material to the student's further work and may well be "blue prints" for matters with which he will have to deal later on.

The "Projected Triplicate"

Many Government offices maintain a triplicate copy of all letters leaving the office, in a "float file" which all officers then see, so that they may be kept in the picture.

By arrangement with the prime minister's office, each district headquarters regularly sends to us its "float file". The institute staff sift the letters and select letters creating a precedent, illustrating procedures, making errors, dealing with various applications or concerning any other important aspect of district administrative routine. We render these anonymous with a blue pencil, obliterating the name of the persons concerned and other personal details.

We then project these selected letters onto a screen with an epidiascope and bring to the students' attention the important features. Several lecturers attend these sessions and take the opportunity to comment on the literary style, the correctness of language and the method used in tackling the problem being dealt with. We also comment on the correctness and appropriateness of the procedure or technique used, on the writer's man-management, and, indeed, on anything which strikes us or the students as being important.

The advantages of this technique are considerable. In the first place the examples which we use are real, live and up to date; all artificiality is excluded. The students realise this and begin to feel that they are part of the Administration long before their course ends. Secondly, the mesh used for sifting the letters on the "float file" is relatively fine and we detect and bring to the students' notice minor aspects of every-day administrative work, which might otherwise escape our notice or which might not strictly fall within the subject matter of the syllabus.

The Practical Exercise

Such exercises are, of course, a commonplace of training in most countries.[10] We differ, perhaps, in the emphasis which we place on the reality of the role playing.[11] The circumstances of an exercise must usually be imaginary, since we cannot have a guarantee that a suitable real life situation will arise at a convenient time of the course, in which our students will be allowed to participate.[12] The carrying out of the exercise, however, is as real as we can make it and involves a good deal of expense on transport.

Take, for example, exercise 'Red Carpet', in which the student groups take the role of a section officer in a ministry, instructed to draw up a detailed programme for the visit of a foreign dignitary. The preparations necessarily include liaison with a wide range of functionaries, in the ministries, at Government House, at the headquarters of the air lines, in industry, in the big hotels and so forth, and this liaison is actually carried out. The groups give the institute staff lists of those with whom they propose to make contact and we ring them up and enlist their co-operation beforehand; many are kind enough to report on the performance of the group representatives and this is of great value to us in assessing the results. A side benefit of this

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[10] See, for example, A.H.M. Kirk-Greene and J. H. Smith, "*Administrative Techniques*"; Journal of Local Administration Overseas, Vol. 1, No. 3, July 1962.

[11] For an analogous exercise without role playing, see "*The Use of Practice-Exercises*" by Shriram B. Bapat, in "*Education in Public Administration*", Ed. Donald C. Stone at p. 109 ff.

[12] Exercises in real life situations are described by Raymond Nottage in "*The Project Study*", in "*Education in Public Administration*", Ed. Donald C. Stone at p. 155 ff.

method is that the students have the opportunity of transacting business with officials, with many of whom they will have dealings later on, when they go into the sevice.

The "In Basket" Exercise

Here again, this is a well known and well used training device[13] which we use in a slightly novel fashion. The "In Basket" exercise in Malawi consists of three parts, each aimed at a different target.

Each student receives a folder of letters and other documents, to the front of which we attach a minute saying that the student has just been appointed executive officer to a district headquarters where the senior administrative officer is sick in bed with blackwater fever, is unable to undertake any strenuous duties but is able to answer letters. The minute goes on to say that during the previous evening a fire in the general office destroyed many of the office files.

We then ask the students to design a simple filing system for the office, based solely on the correspondence in the folder, indicating the appropriate file to which each document should be allocated. They then have to suggest file titles and allot serial numbers and indicate on each document in the file the correct file number, together with a note of which officer is expected to deal with the document.

This first part of the exercise gives the students practice in designing a filing system *ab initio;* it gives them a practical insight into the difficulties of a registry clerk; and it forces them to consider which grade of officer should properly deal with various types of correspondence.

In the second part of the "In Basket" exercise the students play a different role. We tell them that the administrative officer, who in the first part of the exercise was suffering from blackwater fever, has taken a turn for the worse and has been sent to hospital where he will remain for probably three weeks. The student assumes the role of an administrative officer who normally works in a ministry but who has been flown to the district headquarters in question to deal with the accumulated correspondence. We also tell him that he has only two hours before the aircraft returns to take him back to his ministry, and that during this time he must do the best he can to answer the letters in the folder in front of him or indicate to the head clerk what action should be taken, including a rough outline of any letters he wishes the head clerk to write. The folder of correspondence is, in fact, the same as that used in the earlier part of the exercise.

This second part gives the student practical experience in dealing with and making quick decisions on a large number of varied and often difficult documents; he is made to work under pressure and is faced with the temptation to delegate a great deal to the head clerk or to leave the more difficult and embarrassing letters to the sick administrative officer when he returns from hospital.

The final part of the exercise comes as something of a shock to the students. This time they do not change roles. They are the same ministry officer as in the second part, but now they are permanently transferred to assume responsi-

[13] A useful short account and appraisal appears in "*Training by In-Tray*" by H. E. Frank, "*The Manager*", August 1963.

bility of the district, since the blackwater fever has got the better of the former incumbent who has recently died! The student is now in complete charge of the district headquarters and for the third time he sees the familiar folder of correspondence on his desk. This time the letters are marked with all the most difficult "buck-passing" minutes prepared during the second stage and, in addition, some other letters have been added which complicate many of the issues which formerly appeared fairly simple. He is now obliged to deal with all this correspondence, he can no longer pass the buck and much of the buck which he passed before is now passed back to himself. He has to deal with matters which he, or his colleagues, made worse during the second stage.

This third and final part of the "In Basket" exercise brings home to the students the unfairness and imprudence of buck-passing; it shows them that when they are ultimately responsible for a district they have to consider their decisions far more carefully than does a junior and "irresponsible" officer; they see the difficulties which may arise when a letter is carelessly handled and how this can complicate things for the man who has to put it right. In this final stage a great deal of responsibility is introduced into the student's general attitude to office work and to delegation.

Conclusion

In teaching public administration there is a danger of trainers becoming slaves to their pet techniques. In some international conferences the participants so enthuse over, for example, the case method that one gets the impression that all training can be accomplished by either this or that new and original method, or by this or that development of old and familiar techniques. However, "new approaches do not necessarily make the old obsolete; they enlarge the kit of working tools for both students and teachers".[14]

In fact, of course, the lecture is likely to remain the most regular teaching device. Too many hours of lectures in a day, however, particularly on crash courses, rapidly numb the mind, and it is, we think, clear that the development of such well known basic methods as we have described, in realistic proportions, can accomplish at least as much as the formal, or even informal, lecture. Certainly they make life much more interesting for the students, and for the staff!

[14] "*On Public Administration and Public Administration Cases*", by Harold Stein in "*Essays on the Case Method in Public Administration*", Ed. Edwin A. Bock at pp. 29 and 30.

Housing in Hong Kong—Post War Problems

By P. F. LEEDS

Mr. Leeds has been employed by the Hong Kong Government for 14 years and has been Secretary of the Hong Kong Housing Authority since October 1964, having previously served as Deputy Secretary of the Hong Kong Urban Council and as Resettlement Officer in charge of Cottage Areas in the Resettlement Department.

On the 11th January, 1966 the Hong Kong English language daily *The South China Morning Post* reported that a two storey house behind Wong Tai Sin Police Station in Kowloon was occupied by fifty five families. The principal tenant had rented the building in 1956 as a rattan workshop and had subsequently closed the business and sub-let the building in small cubicles for domestic use. The house was described as dark, stuffy and partioned like a maze; water came from a well and there were but three small wash places and one kitchen for the 300 odd inhabitants. A tenant said the building was unbearable in summer and would be a death trap if a fire broke out, but the owner reportedly said that all the occupants had lived together in perfect harmony for years and they would be sorry to say good-bye to each other when the time came for resettlement. Both were probably speaking the truth.

The disclosure of these apalling conditions brought forth no public outcry or even mild criticism. The reason why this report did not shock the *Morning Post* readers is that the conditions described are not exceptional and there are thousands of old tenement buildings in Hong Kong equally overcrowded and just as lacking in the basic needs of ventilation and sanitation. For those unable to afford anything better and who cannot find a room or cubicle there is the alternative of a wooden hut perched precariously on a hillside or on the roof of a tenement house.

To understand how such conditions arose it is necessary to look at the geography and recent history of Hong Kong. The Colony consists of the island of Hong Kong and the mainland peninsula of Kowloon; added to this are the New Territories and outlying islands held under a lease due to terminate in 1997. The whole area covers 398¼ square miles; about 80 per cent is steep hillside, fifty-five square miles is agricultural land, and urban development is restricted to about twenty-five square miles. This shortage of land is the first of two main factors affecting the housing situation; the second is population. In this small area there is a population which at the end of 1965 was estimated to total 3,823,200; slightly more than the population of Norway or Zambia or Bolivia.

Hong Kong began its life as a British Colony in 1841, as a trading post, and for most of the temporary residents both Chinese and European it was a place in which to work and save money to take back home. It was, and to some extent still is, an enormous dormitory. Until after the Second World War the population was always predominantly male: in 1931, only 20 per cent of the population were married women. The total population was then 655,000 but by 1941 after South China had been overrun by the Japanese who were about to do the same to Hong Kong the population had risen to an

estimated 1,600,000 only to drop to less than 600,000 during the occupation. The to and fro movements of this immigrant population were largely dictated by the prevailing political and economical conditions in China itself; Hong Kong providing a convenient place of refuge. After the liberation, and with the re-awakening of commercial life, the population quickly returned to the 1939 level. Like most countries that had been involved in the war there was an immediate shortage of basic commodities; housing was scarce because of the damage from bombing and looting. Overcrowding was serious and scattered colonies of squatter huts grew, but not in incontrollable numbers, and at that time it was a reasonable hope that, as the Colony's prosperity recovered, private building would be able to cope with the needs. What could not have been foreseen then were the events of 1949 and after.

By the end of 1948 the nationalist Kuo Min Tang regime was in a state of collapse; in the summer of 1949 the communist armies had reached the River Yangtze and by the end of that year the People's Republic of China was in control of almost all the mainland areas. This swift change in the political situation stimulated an enormous influx of refugees into Hong Kong, not just men looking for work but complete families; the exact numbers can never be known but by the end of 1949 it was estimated that the population had risen to over two million. A few arrived with sufficient funds to establish themselves in some comfort but for the majority there was the choice of a small airless cubicle in a dilapidated tenement building, a quarter hut on the roof, a hut on a precarious hillside or some rough shelter in the street. Squatter huts also became the homes of many Hong Kong residents who could no longer afford to pay the higher rents that the increased demand brought about.

The traditional policy of free entry had to be abandoned and immigration controls were imposed in April 1950. The number of new arrivals slackened and it appeared that, as the civil war ended in China, solutions to the problems of squatters and over-crowding would come with the return of the refugees to their homes as had happened after previous crises with a restoration of peaceful conditions. The trade embargo, inposed as a result of the Korean War, which increased unemployment in Hong Kong, also made the Colony less attractive as a refuge. A start was made to clear some of the squatter huts and a small proportion of the estimated 300,000 squatters were resited into areas set aside for approved resettlement cottages – simple one storey stone buildings – and tolerated areas of wooden huts. These areas were provided with roads, paths, firebreaks, water stand pipes and public latrines. The paucity of the facilities offered reflected the belief that the problem was only temporary. The development of the resettlement areas continued and by 1953 some 45,000 people lived in them but the squatter colonies outside were estimated to have a population of 250,000 and there was still no sign of any large scale return to China.

The squatters presented great problems of sanitation, health, law and order and in particular the risk of fire. Winters in Hong Kong are cool and dry and the proximity of charcoal or kerosene cooking fires to tinder dry wooden buildings made fires all too common. In January 1950, 20,000 squatters lost their homes in a fire at Kowloon City, 15,000 were burned out in other fires during 1952 and another 7,000 in January and February 1953. It became obvious that the immigrants intended to stay in Hong Kong

despite the conditions and that the programme of resettlement would have to be accelerated to cope with the situation.

Christmas Day 1953 provided both the stimulus and the means to tackle the squatter problem in a different way and on a much larger scale. One of the largest squatter areas was around the village of Shek Kip Mei in North Kowloon; a dense warren of wooden huts with a population in the order of 60,000 – 70,000. On Christmas night 1953 a fire broke out which swept through 45 acres leaving more than 53,000 people homeless. This was a disaster of a magnitude never previously experienced. The usual temporary relief, shelter in school halls, field kitchens, and distributions of clothing, took place with the speed and efficiency which previous experience of squatter fires had made commonplace, but what was needed was something that had not been previously regarded as essential, permanent housing on a massive scale and relief from the danger of recurrent fires.

Almost all of the available building sites in the urban area were occupied by squatters so the fire brought one benefit; it provided the space to begin large scale rehousing. As a first step the whole area was levelled and drained: simple two storey buildings were designed and the first units were occupied just 53 days after the fire. At the same time the Urban Council appointed an emergency sub-committee on resettlement. The committee's terms of reference included the emergency measures necessary to care for the Shek Kip Mei fire victims and it was also asked to make proposals for the long term solution of the overall squatter problem, for Shek Kip Mei was by no means the only large squatter area.

From the recommendations of this committee grew a complete new government resettlement department to deal with all aspects of squatter control. The first major task of the new department was Shek Kip Mei. It soon became evident that in building 2-storey houses the available land would be filled long before all the fire victims had been housed. Other land was not readily obtainable and the only solution was expand upwards. In 1954 a start was made in the building of eight six-storey blocks at Shek Kip Mei. In plan the buildings were in the form of an 'H' with communal washrooms and latrines on each floor in the cross of 'H'. The rooms varied from 100 sq. ft. to just over 300 sq. ft. with the majority at 120 sq. ft. for a family of four or five persons. The minimum space allocation was 24 sq. ft. per person; the desk that this article was written on also has an area of 24 sq. ft. How standards of this kind could be contemplated is perhaps hard to imagine and a first hand knowledge of the conditions of the fire victims is necessary for a full appreciation. The fire victims were living on streets, in shelters of wood and cardboard; before the fire they had had probably no more than a bedspace in a wooden hut with no mains water, no electricity and no proper sanitation. Compared to this, 24 sq. ft. in a concrete fire proof building with water and electricity was a great improvement. Just to make an improvement was not sufficient justification for building accommodation of a low standard: there were other reasons. Money for construction did not grow on trees and Hong Kong's dissociation from international politics meant that little foreign aid would be forthcoming, even from the United Kingdom. This was a bootstrap operation and it was necessary to charge rents that would cover reimbursement of the capital cost. This was calculated over a period of forty years at 3½ per cent per annum compound interest. To meet this

financial requirement and in the absence of any direct subsidies the quality and cost of the buildings had to be related to the tenants' ability to pay rent. In these first resettlement blocks the rent of a 120 sq. ft. room was $HK14 (17s. 6d.) per month. This compared favourably with the rents then prevailing in private tenement houses, and the resettlement blocks were better in terms of hygiene and risk of fire.

Public housing in Hong Kong was something new, there was no administrative organisation readily available and no experienced personnel. The resettlement department was manned by administrative and executive officers transferred from other government departments and by junior officers from the urban services and social welfare departments who had previously dealt with squatters. Circumstances made rapid growth necessary and newly appointed staff were trained by the only possible method of being thrown in from the deep end. Organisation in the early days was very flexible; Hong Kong is compact in size and staff conferences could be held, and decisions made and implemented at very short notice without the mass of paper that more mature organisations so often engorge themselves with.

Having disposed of the squatter areas that were the major fire risks the next order of priority was the clearance of land for development. Most of the undeveloped land in the urban areas of Hong Kong and Kowloon is occupied by squatters, some purely residential, others running small factories, and some rearing pigs or cultivating small vegetable plots. Demand for land has always been pressing and clearances are arranged by priority; highest priority for resettlement estates or other low-cost housing, so that there is a continuing supply of accommodation for squatters to be moved to; next in importance are hospitals, schools and other public buildings and lastly commercial development within approved town plans. Before the squatters are moved all the structures within an area to be cleared are checked and details taken of the occupants. This can be a fairly complex and difficult task as there is the problem of interlopers who deliberately move in to get resettled. Calculations for cash compensation to be made to pig breeders and vegetable farmers have to be made and all the work preparing for the removal of the squatters has to be co-ordinated with the completion of new resettlement estates. A great deal of work is necessary before the actual move and the resettlement department staff spend much time explaining the procedure to the squatters, when and how they must move, where they will move, what the rent will be and so on.

The clearances are carried out by the operations division and when its task is completed the estates and areas division comes into the picture. The cottage resettlement areas of single storey structures still exist, fourteen in all, two in the New Territories, with a population of approximately 75,000, but almost all resettlement is now into multi-storey estates. Since the first multi-storey estate at Shek Kip Mei was started in 1954, a total of seventeen estates with a population of over 740,000 have been built. Altogether 815,000 people had been resettled: more people than live in either Rangoon, Washington D.C. or Cape Town. The building work is carried out by the public works department but the resettlement department assumes responsibility for maintenance once the building is completed.

The economy of Hong Kong has improved greatly since 1954, with a rapid change of emphasis from trading in imports to manufacturing for export.

The value of exports in 1953 was $2,773 million (£ST 180 million): in 1965 it was just over $5,000 million (£ST 314 million). This helped the businessmen but others shared the benefits; a labour department survey showed an overall average increase of wages between 1958 and 1965 of 73 per cent while a separate survey on consumer prices showed an increase of just under 14 per cent between 1958 and 1964. Despite the price increases there has been a substantial improvement in real incomes at all levels and many people, including squatters, have become able and willing to pay more rent for better accommodation. The frugal building standards of the early resettlement estates were dictated by the tenants' ability to pay rent; as that ability has gone up so the design of the more recent estates has improved.

The buildings now being erected have central corridor access and each flat has a small balcony and a lavatory instead of the communal and shared facilities in earlier blocks. The blocks are bigger, going up to sixteen storeys, and individual estates are getting larger; Wong Tai Sin Estate has a population approaching 90,000 and a new estate at Tsz Wan Shan when completed in 1968 will house around 180,000 people.

The 1953 total of three-quarter million squatters could have been housed completely some years ago but for the continual trickle of illegal immigrants and a phenomenal birthrate, which only in 1964 dropped below 30 per 1000, plus a steadily falling death rate, which have kept the number of squatters high. By the end of 1965 there were still over 460,000 squatters in the urban areas plus nearly 60,000 on rooftops. In 1964 the Hong Kong Legislative Council accepted a White Paper entitled a *Review of Policies for Squatter Control, Resettlement and Government Low Cost Housing*. The White Paper included provision for the setting up of controlled areas for squatter huts, and priorities for the rehousing of people dispossessed when old buildings are demolished for redevelopment or because of their dangerous condition, squatters on land required for development and pavement dwellers. The stepped up building programme resulting from the White Paper called for the re-housing of 900,000 people in the six years up 31st March 1970, with a technical planning target of 1,900,000 up to April 1974, the cost of the latter target being estimated at just over £100,000,000.

Resettlement has been the largest housing scheme but it is not the complete story. Private enterprise still remains the biggest provider. Before the second world war new private building had progressed at a brisk rate but little was done towards replacing the deteriorating tenements built at the beginning of the century. About 10 per cent of all the domestic buildings were destroyed during the war and another 10 per cent seriously damaged. Despite shortages of materials the war losses had been made good by 1950 but by this time overcrowding had become worse with the influx of refugees, and the amount of new building fell far short of increase in population.

The demand for housing resulted in a boom in the building business which continued until 1965 when financial difficulties and the failure of two local banks brought about a pause. Much of the private enterprise activity has been devoted to the replacement of old buildings which were demolished or had collapsed. There was plenty of incentive to construct new building: demand was enormous, rents for new buildings were not controlled as they were for pre-war buildings, height restrictions were relaxed so that a much higher building could replace a typical three storey pre-war tenement building,

and the unsettled conditions in South East Asia stimulated a flow of capital from overseas Chinese towards the attractions of the quick returns obtainable in the Hong Kong real estate market.

Private enterprise concentrated on the higher class of flats where profits were great and tenants could afford the inflated rents. Rents of £ST25 or more per week for an unfurnished 4-5 room flat were not uncommon. The government has been criticised for allegedly contributing to the high rents through its land policy and it cannot be denied that the high cost of land was a contributory factor. Private land is held under lease from the Crown and leases are sold by auction to the highest bidder and the grants are subject to a covenant in which the lessee undertakes to develop the lot to a certain rateable value within a specified time. In the ten years from 1946 to 1957 land sales produced a revenue of $HK68 m. (£ST4¼ million). From then on both the amount sold and the revenue gained increased enormously. In 1962/63, in one year, premia on land sales brought in $HK234 million (£ST14.6 million), nearly 20 per cent of government's total revenue. In the same period since 1947, land values have gone up in many places by thirty times. In 1947 mixed commercial residential lots were obtained for HK$5 – HK$10 per square foot; by 1964 the same land could command HK$300 (£ST19) or more per square foot. The value of land sales has gone down in the last two years but still remains an important source of income and is one of the reasons why Hong Kong continues to enjoy a low level of direct taxation. The way in which the government has cashed in on its monopoly control of land has been criticised because its effect on the cost of housing. On the other hand the revenue gained has been put to good purpose and it can be argued that in any circumstances private developers would be attracted to the richer clients and government's land policy can be considered as a way of soaking the rich to benefit the poor, with low cost housing schemes among other things, without the burden and administrative waste of an elaborate system of taxation.

The activities of the building trade are to be seen everywhere in Hong Kong; new hotels, new cinemas, new office blocks, new factories, new residential flats. The standard of building work is good because of imposed standards; the standard of architecture is not so good, ranging from the very best to buildings designed to meet the building regulations and no more. Management of large buildings has become a problem through the practice of selling individual flats. Some are well looked after but other developers, on selling the last flat in a block, have vanished leaving the occupants to organise cleaning, maintenance, refuse disposal and so on, themselves.

Private development has housed the upper income levels of the population and the work of the resettlement department is coping with the squatters at the other end, but what about those in between? In 1957 a survey was carried out by the Hong Kong University of 267,000 households in the urban area. They found that 79 per cent were sharing accommodation, 95,000 households were in cubicles, 43,000 had nothing more than bedspaces and 4,000 lived on verandahs. Only 20,000 families possessed a room which was not used for sleeping. Over 21,000 premises were found to be of pre-1903 construction so lacking in hygienic facilities as to constitute a danger to health. There are still some urban areas with buildings that have no mains water, no electricity and where night-soil is collected in buckets. In a rurai

community it is possible to be primitive and healthy but it is difficult in conditions of congestion that produce population densities of over 2,000 per acre.

The problems of landlord and tenant relations in overcrowded old buildings have been experienced elsewhere. During the 1941 – 1945 Japanese administration the rights and responsibilities of landlords were allowed to lapse and when the war ended many tenement houses were in a state of neglect and were often occupied by squatters who paid no rent. The restoration of normal landlord and tenant relations was naturally not popular and in order to prevent eager landlords from unduly exploiting the shortage of housing rents were controlled at the 1941 level. Increases were allowed in the 1947 Landlord and Tenant Ordinance but as so often happens with legislation of this kind, once it has been in existence for a few years, political pressures are exerted to retard any change detrimental to the tenant. At the end of the war the buildings were in a generally dilapidated condition and as money values fell and rents remained static landlords became unable to carry out essential repairs. It was in fact advantageous to the landlord to neglect his property in the hope that the building authority would declare the building unsafe and order its demolition, as this would leave the owner free to put up a new building which could be sold or rented at market rates. The landlord could also obtain relief by applying for exemption from the ordinance by giving cash compensation to the tenants, who in cases of need would be rehoused by the resettlement department, to allow for the demolition and replacement of the old building. This combination of low controlled rents for pre-war buildings and exemptions where property is re-developed has been a great incentive to private enterprise to replace the old property, but there are still too many old overcrowded and unhygienic tenement houses remaining, despite the fact that private enterprise has provided accommodation for about two million people during the past ten years.

The need to do something for the middle income groups was obvious but while the government was pre-occupied with the more urgent needs of resettling squatters the first moves in the field of low-cost, low-rent public housing was left to charitable organisations. The Hong Kong Housing Society, which was formed in 1948 as an off-shoot of the Hong Kong Council of Social Service, pioneered this work. The society was incorporated by ordinance in 1951 and with the aid of a government loan began the first cautious moves towards a full scale programme of public housing. Land was granted at a low price and with the loans repayable over 40 years at an interest of 5 per cent, small flats were built and offered at rents of between $37 (£ST 2/2/6) and $165 (£ST10/6/9) per month, depending on the size. Tenants were selected from families with incomes between $350 (£ST21/17/6) and $1,000 (£ST62/10/0) per month who were in the greatest need. Often families paid more in rent for a bed-space in a tenement house than for their new Society flat. By the end of 1965 the Society had housed over 51,000 people in nine estates. Another important contribution by the Society was the introduction of good housing management for low-cost flats. A nucleus of professional housing managers from the United Kingdom laid the foundations of a system which has ensured a high standard of management and maintenance and the Society's estates are models of cleanliness and good order.

The efforts of the Society were of first rate quality but, in quantity, the contribution was but a drop in the ocean. In 1956 a special committee was appointed to investigate and report on the housing situation. This was the first detailed survey carried out since 1935 and the result was a decision by the government to expand the programme for resettling squatters and also to embark on a programme of low cost housing for poor families with incomes of less than $HK300 (£ST18/15/0) per month. This limit was later raised to $HK 500 (£ST31/5/0).

The Hong Kong Housing Authority was created as an independent body in 1954. It is closely associated with the urban council, as the members of the council, a mixture of appointed members, members elected from a restricted franchise and government officials, are also members of the Authority. The functions of the Authority, specified by ordinance, are to secure the provision of housing and ancillary amenities for such kinds or classes of persons as the Governor may from time to time approve. The people the Authority caters for are those who have a family income of between $HK400 (£ST25) and $HK900 (£ST56/5/0) per month.

Like the Housing Society the Authority has financed its operations from government loans granted on favourable interest rates with repayment over forty years and land is allocated at one third of the estimated market price which can be considered as a form of hidden subsidy. Otherwise the Authority has to behave like a commercial enterprise and while rents are kept as low as possible, they must be sufficient to cover all expenditure on building, management and interest payments. The loans are consolidated and are regarded as a revolving fund. By the end of 1965 the Authority had been granted loan funds totalling $245 million of which $174·86 million had been spent. A small surplus is gained from the rents after all expenses have been paid; at the end of 1965 this amounted to $30·06 million and represents the degree of self-financing carried out. With these funds the Authority has housed 132,561 people in seven estates.

The Authority's first estates were built by private architects but it now has its own architectural section which, in addition to the design and supervision of the construction of estates, also co-ordinates the work of private architects and consultants, public utilities and the public works department.

The dwelling units are designed for families of varying sizes – six and seven persons are the most common – on an occupancy ratio of 35 sq. ft. per person excluding the kitchen, lavatory and verandah space. In most estates there is one room which can be sub-divided by the tenant to suit his own needs. Thirty-five square feet is not very big and considerable ingenuity is shown in the use of tiered bunks and fold-away furniture to make the best use of the space. Like the confined space of a ship's cabin they can be made quite comfortable.

The estates are planned as far as possible as neighbourhood units with no through roads. They have their own shopping centres, schools, kindergarten, playgrounds and in recent years, car parks. As in some places in the United Kingdom the idea of a council tenant being a car owner has taken a little getting used to. Building work is put out by tender to private contractors. Finishes are necessarily simple so that building costs and future maintenance expenses are consistent with the low rents charged. No two estates are alike as each is designed to suit its particular site and there are none of the regi-

mental lines of buildings to be seen in some of the earlier resettlement estates.

The biggest of the Authority's estates is at Choi Hung near to Kai Tak airport. It was completed in 1964 and houses over 43,000 people. There are 7,820 flats in eight twenty storey blocks connected by a lower eight storey block. The total cost was $48,532,000 (£ST3,033,000) which works out at approximately $1130 per person. This economy in costs is the main factor in keeping the rents low; for a 6 person flat the monthly rent is $HK70 (£ST4/7/6). Economies can be achieved without shoddiness and good designing is not necessarily expensive. The Choi Hung estate is a good example as the Hong Kong Society of Architects awarded their 1965 Silver Medal for design to this estate. Among the residential blocks are schools, children's playgrounds, a small market for fresh food sales, a post office, two banks, two restaurants and four kindergarten. Other shop tenants included a privately run medical clinic, grocers, butchers, rice dealers, haberdashers, chemists, stationers, a photographer and hairdressers. The shops are let at a commercial rent and provide a substantial revenue which is used in financing the Authority's activities. This estate has a gross site density of 1,787 persons per acre, a concentration probably almost unbelievable elsewhere. Many good public housing schemes have been ruined by poor administration and the need for good management in densities of the Choi Hung estate scale is obvious. The estate is run by a U.K. qualified Housing Manager and a staff of housing assistants, caretakers and maintenance workers. Cleaning and refuse collection is carried out by a contractor. There is a monthly door to door collection of rent which makes it possible for the staff to check on sanitary conditions, illegal subletting and any other infringements at the same time.

Like the Housing Society the Authority has benefitted from its insistence on good management. As well as the seven estates built from its own funds the Authority also manages the government's low cost housing estates for families with incomes up to $500 per month. There are five of these with a total population of 67,279.

The demands for a tenancy in an estate are enormous; normally there are from eight to ten applications for every flat. Initial selection is made by ballot to bring the numbers down to manageable proportions. Those lucky enough to be drawn in the ballot are interviewed in their homes and tenancies are offered to those within the income limit who are in greatest need. Take one example; Chui Chun Lau works as a taxi-driver and earns about $650 per month (£ST10 per week). He has a wife and a daughter and a dependent sister and they now live in a small flat at Choi Hung estate for which he pays $HK55 (£ST 3/8/0) per month. The family moved to Choi Hung estate in 1964 having previously occupied a tenement cubicle and bedspace of only 53 sq. ft. for which they had to pay a rent only slightly less than their present rent. Their flat at Choi Hung has a curtained off cubicle for the beds, a small living room with a settee and a folding table and chairs; there is a balcony, kitchen and toilet. The place is neatly but not richly decorated and they have a small refrigerator and a glass fronted side-board which among other things contains the tea set used when H.R.H. The Princess Margaret and Lord Snowdon called on Mr. Chui's family during their visit to Choi Hung estate in March of this year.

The Chui family are among the lucky ones. There remain hundreds of thousands in squatter huts, in crowded tenements on rooftops, who live with the fear that at some time their lives and livelihood may be destroyed by fire, flood, collapse or typhoon. For these the massive housing programme has to be continued and with it all the ancillary public services, new roads, new drains and sewers, more piped water, schools, hospitals and public transport; in fact more and more of everything in a small territory whose size remains constant. The full range of housing needs are being catered for, from resettlement, and going up the income scale, through government low cost housing, the housing society and housing authority and private enterprise, but so far the catering, despite its scale, remains far from satisfying all the customers.

Administration in the British Solomon Islands

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The Solomon Islands constitute an archipelago stretching in length over some 750 miles in the far south-west Pacific, immediately to the east of New Guinea. They can be regarded as two parallel chains, the northern one comprising the main islands of Bougainville, Choiseul, Ysabel, and Malaita, and the southern one the islands of Guadalcanal, New Georgia, and San Cristoval. The islands are of volcanic origin; the coral reefs which surround them are only an adjunct to mountain massifs which rise in places to a height of 8,000 feet. As the mountains are heavily forested and flat land is very scarce, the basic administrative problems posed by the topography of the islands will be obvious.

The inhabitants are typically Melanesian, being very similar in physical characteristics and social structure to the peoples of New Guinea. For the most part they are short and stocky, with dark brown skins and fuzzy hair; there are, however, a few groups of Polynesians, notably on the atoll of Ontong Java (sometimes called Lord Howe).[1] The social structure is typified by a high degree of segmentation: the dominant unit is the exogamous matrilineal clan.[2] Leadership is amorphous, being non-hereditary and depending on a man's personal qualities, as exhibited through those institutions which the societies particularly value. In the islands to the northwest (the Shortlands, Choiseul, New Georgia) there appear at one time to have been forms of what might be termed chieftainship leaders who built up and maintained extensive alliances through marriage.[3] Elsewhere the more typical pattern prevailed, with an individual gaining support as a young man through his own abilities: by displays of energy in the gardens (and traditionally, through bravery in warfare) a man could build up a following; but this rarely extended beyond an administrative sub-district.[4] There was often a division of functions amongst ceremonial, war, and religious leaders.[5]

Even in the south-eastern islands, however, in a few places a strong principle of hereditary leadership appeared to attach to one clan amongst a number of others: for example, the Araha clan on San Cristoval and the Sa'a clan on Malaita. On San Cristoval the 'chief' of Arosi village imposed

[1] See H. I. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia*, (London, 1934).

[2] C. S. Belshaw, 'Native Politics in the Solomon Islands', *Pacific Affairs*, XX, 1947, p. 188.

[3] C. S. Knibbs, *The Savage Solomons As They Were and Are*, (London, 1929), p. 53; A. Capell, 'Notes on the Islands of Choiseul and New Georgia', *Oceania*, XIV, 1943, pp. 24, 27, 29.

[4] The best example is the *ngwane'inoto* (secular leader) of Malu'u, described by H. I. Hogbin, *Experiments in Civilisation*, (London, 1939).

[5] W. G. Ivens, *Melanesians of the South-East Solomon Islands*, (London, 1927): the Lau chiefs, N.E. Malaita; cf. P.M. Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound*, (London, 1957), p. 15.

fines, and was the war leader and often also the priest.[6] The prerogatives of the Sa'a chief were not so imposing: although he could impose tabus and exact fines for their contravention, behaviour was regulated in the main by 'group sentiment' rather than by any native authority.[7]

These areas of limited hereditary authority later assumed greater administrative importance than their extent warranted; for it was believed that they represented survivals of a system which had existed more generally, and which had been destroyed by culture contact and by indiscriminate government appointments.[8] In other words, it provided the rationale for the introduction of a Native Authority system on the African model.

To say this, however, is to anticipate the first European contacts and the establishment of elementary administration. The Solomons (and especially Guadalcanal and Malaita) were subjected to the visits of labour recruiters from about 1860 until the turn of the century. Kanakas who were inveigled on board recruiters' ships – generally under false pretences – were taken to work on the sugar plantations of Queensland and Fiji.[9] In the 1920s and 1930s it was felt that the major result of this trade had been to break down traditional leadership. This argument was probably overdone.[10] But the trade certainly had the effect of embittering young men towards Europeans, as the first British Deputy Commissioner for the area well recognised.[11] The experiences of these men left an unfortunate legacy of distrust amongt those islanders who had had the most intense outside contact; the results of this are probably still being felt. Moreover, this trade – and other outside contact – did provide a stimulus to the development of a new type of quasi-leadership, dependent on the favour of Europeans.[12] The Queensland labour trade also produced the South Seas Evangelical Mission, which gained a particular hold on Malaita (the major centre of population), and which was organised on the self-contained 'presbytery' principle; this later allowed ambitious men to use it for their own ends.

The repercussions of the labour trade, particularly in attacks on visiting Europeans, compelled the British authorities in the 1870s to make token efforts at controlling native-white relations.

Britain had reluctantly declared Fiji a colony in 1874; and it was from Fiji that British authority was extended to the Solomons and New Guinea in the late 1870s and early 1880s.[13] Britain had to devise some means of limiting both outrages perpetrated by islanders and wrongs committed by British subjects. The Pacific Islanders Protection Act of 1875 provided that a

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[6] C. E. Fox, *The Threshold of the Pacific*, (London, 1924), pp. 296-300. Fox believed the chiefly clan to be immigrants.

[7] Ivens, op. cit., pp. 114-5; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, (Oxford, 1891), pp. 50-2: he describes the status of the Sa'a clan as being quite a typical of the Solomons.

[8] Moorhouse Report, Cmd. 3248, January 1929, p. 19.

[9] W. T. Wawn, *The South Sea Islanders and the Queensland Labour Trade*, 1875-1891 (London, 1893); *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. VII Pt. 1 (1933), pp. 287, 501.

[10] *British Colonial Reports*, 1938, No. 1908 (B.S.I.P.), p. 3.

[11] H. H. Romilly, *The Western Pacific and New Guinea*, (London, 1887), pp. 189-90.

[12] Codrington, op. cit., p. 46.

[13] J. M. Ward, *British Policy in the South Pacific*, 1786-1893, (Sydney, 1948), pp. pp. 41-9, 265.

High Commissioner based in Fiji and Deputy Commissioners should exercise jurisdiction over *British subjects* in the unannexed islands. In practice the High Commission had to rely on the Royal Navy for sanctions, with the result that the era has become notorious as that of 'commodore justice': when the islanders attacked Europeans, the villages suspected of being implicated were bombarded or burned by naval parties, often with little or no discrimination and many months after the outrages had taken place.[14]

This was patently unsatisfactory. Britain was drawn into closer involvement by the need not only to extend more judicious support to Europeans (notably missionaries), but also to prevent the territories immediately to the north of Australia from falling into German hands. The British sphere of influence over most of the Solomons was recognised by the Germans (who had just taken possession of north-east New Guinea) in 1886; though Bougainville fell within the German sphere.[15] Eventually, in 1893, Britain proclaimed a protectorate over the islands, which were to be administered by a Resident Commissioner, still under the authority of the Western Pacific High Commission based in Fiji. In international law the declaration of a Protectorate was a means whereby a European Power could lay effective claim to a territory without obligation to govern or develop it.[16] In the British Solomons the Protectorate meant one significant advance, in that some attempts were made to sheet home *individual* responsibility for offences both by islanders and by Europeans. The first Commissioner, C. M. Woodford, took up residence, at Tulagi, in 1897, and district stations were established on Gizo (1899), The Shortlands (1906), Malaita (1909), Guadalcanal (1914), San Cristoval and Ysabel (1918). On the oil-stain principle the establishment of further stations was designed to make administration more intensive and better adapted to local conditions; though in fact its pattern remained rudimentary. Initially Woodford had a small contingent of Fijian police and a small boat in which to visit areas where murders or feuding were reported. This force he sometimes supplemented by enlisting local Europeans as temporary policemen; this generally seems to have applied when trouble broke out on Malaita, where the islanders – possibly for reasons already outlined – were particularly fractious.[17] However, this was something in the nature of a gesture of desperation, for local Europeans were difficult to control and by arbitrary action could arouse long-standing resentments directed towards the government as well as towards Europeans. With the expansion of district stations the *ad hoc* enlistment of local Europeans declined, though the Administration perforce had on occasions to call in the Navy. Thus, forceful and rather indiscriminate punitive measures in fact continued in the Solomons long after they had ceased elsewhere in the Pacific.[18]

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[14] For a general description see W. P. Morrell, *Britain in the Pacific Islands*, (Oxford, 1960), pp. 184-6.

[15] Choiseul and Ysabel were also originally German, and were transferred to the British sphere in 1900.

[16] H. Lauterpacht in *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. III, (1959), p. 681; L. Oppenheim, *International Law* (London, 1955), Vol. I, p. 196.

[17] A. I. Hopkins, *In the Isles of King Solomon*, (London, 1928), pp. 234-7.

[18] Moorhouse (op. cit., p. 11) described punitive expeditions as being 'regretfully common'.

For this situation no blame can be attached to local officials, who lacked both subordinate staff and funds. Until about 1920 regular administration at the village level hardly existed. The district officers, each with only a small detachment of police, were largely left to do the best they could. They generally adopted much the same device as in neighbouring Papua, appointing apparently prominent men as village policemen. The nature of the problem was emphasised at the time by Ivens:

> 'There were no paramount chiefs with whom to confer, no council of elders in the various places, who could be entrusted with the establishment of law and order.'[19]

Add to this the multiplicity of indigenous languages and the lack of a *lingua franca* in many places. Inevitably, the tendency was to appoint as village police those men with whom it was easiest to liaise – that is, those with some experience of the government and a knowledge of English.[20] Such men often had no traditional authority, and in native eyes had a kind of status only because of government support. This tendency was accentuated in the 1920s. At the beginning of the decade a Native Tax Regulation, applying to males between the ages of 16 and 60, was promulgated. Measures to collect the tax prompted the introduction of a statutory structure of native administration, including in particular the official appointment of district and village headmen (1922). Ivens complained that as control shifted more firmly to the government, respect for the true chiefs, and thereby internal sanctions, broke down, with consequent disorder – the very thing which the appointment of headmen was designed to prevent.[21] Of course this problem was not unique to the British Solomons – it has been noted in segmentary societies in Kenya and Eastern Nigeria[22] – but it was made especially intractable in the islands by the difficulties facing regular patrolling, which in turn meant lessened supervision and only tenuous contact with island opinion. Unscrupulous headmen could use the threat of government support to become petty tyrants; this was also noted in New Guinea.[23]

Matters were eventually brought to a head by events (predictably) on the island of Malaita, which had a particularly conscientious district officer in W. R. Bell. Bell initiated effective administration on Malaita in 1915, and served there almost continuously until 1927. In that year he was murdered (together with a cadet) while on a tax-collecting patrol. The Secretary of State for the Colonies appointed Sir H. C. Moorhouse to conduct an official enquiry into the circumstances surrounding the murders. In his report Moorhouse conceded that the Malaitans probably resented *any* outside intrusion; at the same time he also expressed the opinion that the 1922 regulation providing for headmen had been poorly administered. Headmen had been appointed precipitately, he said, and in most instances they were not acceptable to the people.[24]

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[19] W. G. Ivens, *The Island Builders of the Pacific*, (London, 1930), p. 86.

[20] *Ibid.;* also C. H. Allan, *The Marching Rule Movement in the B.S.I.P.* (unpublished thesis, Cantab., 1950), p. 19.

[21] Ivens, *Ibid.*, pp. 86-7.

[22] See L. S. B. Leakey, *Mau Mau and the Kikuyu*, (London, 1952), p. 36. L. Gray Cowan, *Local Government in West Africa*, (New York, 1958) pp. 18-19.

[23] H. I. Hogbin, 'Local Government for New Guinea', *Oceania*, XVII, 1946, p. 44.

[24] Moorhouse Report, cit. sup., pp. 13-20.

In British colonial government this was, of course, *par excellence* the period of indirect rule, which attracted a great and perhaps an exaggerated mystique. (It is perhaps worth recalling that the contemporaneous Hilton Young Report on East Africa called for the restoration of the authority of the 'tribal chiefs').[25] Consequently Moorhouse felt that the solution in the Solomons was to take greater pains to allow an indirect, traditionally-founded element in administration. He acknowledged that social conditions almost drove him to the conclusion that 'the directest of direct rule' was inevitable; but the presumption of a pre-contact system of hereditary chieftainship allowed him to suggest that much greater care be exercised in selecting headmen in order to secure men with traditional backing, and that officials consult with them more regularly and refrain from punitive police action.[26] Moorhouse recognised the power in the villages of many of the mission teachers, especially those of the South Seas Evangelical Mission; but he regarded their arrogation of a certain amount of temporal authority as potentially beneficial, if real co-operation with government could be secured.

Fundamentally Moorhouse's recommendations were not radical, they amounted to greater care in using old methods. The result was that during the 1930s strenuous efforts were made to appoint headmen who had some genuine following in their communities. But it has been said that the Administration failed to understand the nature of traditional leadership, especially the division of functions.[27] Non-traditional criteria (notably constabulary experience and familiarity with judicial procedure) continued to be important in the selection of headmen.

This may seem a very elementary system of administration; but in fact it was considerably in advance of the one being applied under very similar social conditions in Papua, where little advance had been made beyond a system of village policemen. In the Solomons the district headmen drew numbers of the tiny social units together, and they had significant executive and judicial functions. The better men, like Hogbin's Maekali (of north Malaita) did build up a local following, and tried to work with groups of elders. Nevertheless, they were government appointees, so that it was probably unavoidable that some sections of traditional society would prove resentful: 'Maekalism' was loathed on Malaita after the war. Moreover, abuses of police powers seem to have continued to some extent, so that co-operation with government was equated with ambitions towards authoritarianism, which does not accord with the values of Melanesian society.[28]

In retrospect, it is relatively easy to discern the growth of native dissidence, and the reasons for it. It came into the open with a decline in native passivity: sporadic demands were made for higher wages and for a voice in the Protectorate's Advisory Council.[29] The Administration's reliance on the headman system had never been more than temporary; and events in the 1930s

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[25] Report of the Hilton Young Commission, Cmd. 3234, January 1929, p. 271.

[26] Moorhouse Report, cit. sup., p. 21.

[27] Allan, op. cit., pp. 20-2.

[28] H. I. Hogbin, *Experiments in Civilisation*, pp. 142-6; also his article 'Native Councils and Courts in the Solomon Islands', *Oceania*, XIV, 1943, pp. 260, 269; C. H. Allan, *Customary Land Tenure in the B.S.I.P.*, (Honiara, 1957), p. 74; also local information.

[29] Belshaw, loc, cit., pp. 189-90.

convinced officials that the time had come for an advance to more sophisticated institutions. In 1939 the anthropologist Hogbin came out strongly in favour of native councils and courts as 'a return to the solid foundations of the past': a significant argument.[30] The result was that in 1940 moves began to introduce institutions on the lines of the African native authorities. The principal object was to unite customary and Administration law, and to modify and enforce it through statutory native bodies having some traditional representative base, though gradually working under Administration procedures. Ultimately this depended on the basic British theory that 'responsibility itself is the most valuable educator'.[31]

In the true and commendable tradition of British pragmatism a year or two were to be given over to local experiments before the system was made statutory. In the period 1940-2 the various district officers set up court systems on a trial basis, to allow adaptation to local cultural conditions. All officials agreed that a system of native courts was urgently needed: there was thus no dispute on the basic principle. In the Shortlands (western area) the district officer stated that the chiefs had always had judicial powers under native custom; he envisaged the official courts as developments from this, revolving around the recognised sub-district chiefs. In the New Georgia area ten sub-district courts were established, 'composed of elders chosen by the people', and convened by the district headmen. On Ysabel the members of each court numbered five, comprising the district headman and the leaders of the major clans. The district officer here stated the basic principle of binding minor statutory and customary offences together by giving native courts appropriate jurisdiction:

> 'It is particularly important that offences against the . . .Native Administration Regulations should be cognizable by the native courts, for it would mean that a dirty village would be punishable as an offence against their own people and not merely as part of the general prejudices of an alien administration.'[32]

This frank recognition of the status of government, and of the need to attend to the native viewpoint, progressively marked the whole of Solomons administration after 1940. On the courts issue the then Resident Commissioner acknowledged that the Islanders had reached the stage where an outlet was needed for their 'political aspirations'; and he recommended the statutory establishment of native courts as 'fundamental to any system of native administration founded on principles generally accepted within the Empire'.[33] The result was the Native Courts Regulation (Cap. 30/1942), which was still in force – with some extensions – in 1960. During this period the constitution of these courts was little altered: generally the judicial body comprised the sub-district headmen and local elders (later, official councillors). As the regulation provided for customary constitution and courts were individually established by warrant, there was scope for flexibility in setting up courts.

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[30] Hogbin, *Experiments in Civilisation*, pp. 235-9.

[31] See Belshaw, loc. cit., p. 190.

[32] D. O. Ysabel to Govt. Secretary, 7.2.1941 (Govt. Archives, Honiara).

[33] Resident Commissioner to High Commissioner for Western Pacific, 30.4.1941 (Govt. Archives, Honiara).

In the eighteen years from 1942 the scope of native courts' jurisdiction was substantially extended: in 1944 they could deal with criminal cases punishable by a fine of up to five pounds or imprisonment for one month, and with civil cases involving property up to the value of £10. By the mid-1950s these limits had generally been raised to six months or twenty pounds (criminal cases), and fifty pounds in civil cases (£100 in land suits). This in itself is an indication of the Administration's continuing confidence in the native courts: as in Africa, their case-books formed an index to social change, which they helped both to record and to regulate.[34] (It might be noted, incidentally that this represented a completely different approach from that adopted by Australia in New Guinea: there, with very similar social conditions and development problems, the Administration relied consistently on courts presided over by European officials and administering only statutory law. The belief was that in time and with familiarity the islanders would come to accept the European courts; but the indication was in 1960 that in fact the islanders were administering customary law surreptitiously).[35]

At about the same time as native courts were introduced, informal councils were also set up, on a sub-district basis. Like the courts, these were originally formed around the district headmen who acted as agents of government in confederating many of the tiny traditional social units. In practice these councils were permitted to levy funds and to some degree to administer their own medical services; one council even managed a branch of the Government Trade Store.[36] In the western Solomons the courts and councils went ahead continuously and simultaneously: real leadership there was relatively easy to locate. The Native Administration Regulation, 1947, provided eventually for statutory sub-district councils; these were regarded as preparatory to larger councils which were to be introduced when social change had broken down 'excessive parochialism'.[37]

In the central and southern Solomons, however, the smooth transition to forms of local government was disrupted by the ramifications of the Japanese invasion. Guadalcanal in particular was a major battle-ground; the islanders were shown the massive weight of advanced technology, and were brought into touch with many Americans who had no respect for the attitudes and arguments behind colonial government. Thus on Guadalcanal and Malaita the war acted as a catalyst in releasing social and political frustration in the so-called 'Marching Rule' cult. This had many of the marks of the usual cargo cults which have appeared sporadically in Melanesia ever since the beginning of European contact: to this extent its origins can be traced back to the days of the labour trade. However, Marching Rule also revealed a struggle for allegiance between the traditional or quasi-traditional leaders (e.g. South Seas Evangelical Mission teachers) and those recognised by government. The Administration had rather belatedly acknowledged that council members in 'Christian' areas were often not accepted as leaders.

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[34] Lord Hailey, *An African Survey* (Revised 1956), p. 632.

[35] See this writer's article 'Native Local Government in New Guinea: Its Functions and Problems', *Journal of African Administration*, XIII, 3, 1961.

[36] Belshaw, loc. cit., p. 190; see 'Notes and Instructions to Native Administrations in the British Solomon Islands', *Oceania* XVI, 1945, pp. 61-9.

[37] *B.S.I.P. Report*, 1949-50, p. 47; also *Report* 1948, p. 28; see C.S. Belshaw, *Island Administration in the South-West Pacific*, (London, 1950), pp. 118-9.

On Malaita the councils had admittedly been set up hurriedly as control mechanisms during wartime stress, and their members were not truly representative.[38]

This leadership aspect was extremely important, in view of the Administration's failure, even in the 1930s, to locate and use men with traditional standing. Moreover, even before the war unrealistic ideas about rapid self-government had been spread in the central Solomons by disciples of a Melanesian Mission pastor. On Guadalcanal a headman named Vouza, much decorated and favoured by the Administration, sought the paramount chieftainship of the island – an office which had never previously existed. This notion seems to have been taken up by the non-government leadership, beginning in the backward and little patrolled area of Ariari on south Malaita. Rumours were spread that the Americans were going to expel the British and assist with the provision of vast quantities of free 'cargo', to which the cult leaders would guide their followers. Inland villagers were induced to abandon their gardens and flock to the coastal areas where they were to work on co-operative plantations. The drilling of the islanders on military lines by their self-appointed leaders was also a feature of the movement. From the Administration's standpoint perhaps the most striking aspect of Marching Rule was the revelation on Malaita of this new leadership, and of previously unrealised political alignments. Within twelve months the cult leaders in effect established a pan-island government. They set up their own councils and fund-collecting organisation, so that for the first time the ten fundamental linguistic/ethnological divisions on Malaita became clear to the Administration.[39]

In view of this, the Resident Commissioner initially tried to co-operate with the cult's head chiefs in order to canalise the positive energies – especially economic energies – into useful directions. But when independent courts were set up and the coercive police and military aspects of the movement became obvious, the Administration realised that some suppression was necessary. In September 1947 the principal head chiefs were arrested. (By this time, however, rifts had already appeared in the cult leadership, with extremists in the north taking a more violent line towards the Administration).

The ultimate success of the Administration in dealing with Marching Rule lay in its refusal to abandon positive measures, and in its willingness to act on a realisation of past mistakes and local grievances. In other words, the political impulse to the movement was regarded as legitimate. In accordance with this realisation, after the war the numbers of appointed village headmen were rapidly reduced throughout the Solomons, in order to ameliorate the 'direct' element in government. Moreover, the criteria for the selection of district headmen were specifically changed: instead of being ex-constabulary, they were chosen for 'intrinsic merit, education, powers of leadership, and their status in the social system'.[40] After most councils had been reconsti-

[38] Hogbin, *Oceania*, XIV, cit. sup., p. 262; Allan, *The Marching Rule Movement*, cit. sup., pp. 40–1.

[39] Malaita Annual Report, 1947, typescript, Auki, pp. 3–5.

[40] Allan, *Customary Land Tenure*. . . . cit. sup., p. 74. Headmen's conferences were held annually after the war, concurrently with D.C.s' conferences. They constituted a kind of informal native advisory council – see *South Pacific* (Sydney), IV, 11, 1950, p. 209.

tuted the numbers of *district* headmen were also reduced, with the ultimate object of their ceasing to be central government agents and becoming employees of the councils.

On Malaita the Administration went to great lengths to bring the dissidents within this general process of devolution. Between 1947 and 1950 several attempts were made to re-establish the sub-district councils. However, the arrest of the Marching Rule head chiefs had not broken the movement, which had formed an intransigent hard core around its own Federal Council: the result was that official local government was boycotted. This federal council consisted of a number of influential men who met occasionally near Auki, the district headquarters. They wanted one 'big man' recognised by the Administration, a fixed high monthly wage, and their own flag; the latent aim was complete independence for the island (total population about 50,000).

The Administration realised that the only way to deal with this extra-legal centralising tendency was to make official proposals which went at least as far. Therefore, the Resident Commissioner in 1950 decided that a native council for each *district* in the Solomons should be introduced. There were reservations about this policy, both at the High Commission in Fiji and in London: it was felt that the obstacle of traditional parochialism would make the abrupt application of East African precedents impracticable. Nevertheless, the overriding political pressures were acknowledged, and the all-clear was given for district councils.[41]

On Malaita these pressures were so great that the establishment of an island council had to anticipate the statute. Moreover, the existing federal council had to be brought within the ambit of the new institution. The Marching Rule head chiefs, who were released from prison in 1950, were ruthlessly abandoned by their former followers when they showed moderate inclinations. It still did not pay to be pro-Administration. Clearly, however, the proposed district council and the federal council could not co-exist. Consequently, the Resident Commissioner went to extraordinary lengths to achieve a compromise. Ultimately it was agreed that a new council of forty-one members would include only ten official nominees, that it would have its own flag for the island, and that any 'big man' it nominated would be recognised as President if he took a simple oath of allegiance, with the possibility of his nomination to the Protectorate Advisory Council. While the High Commissioner in Fiji now looked forward to 'an increasing measure of autonomy' for the Malaitans within this framework, he insisted that the Malaita Council would have to accept fully its law and order, tax, and executive responsibilities. The government headmen were to be the executive arms of the council. The Malaitans accepted, though it was an indication of continuing separatism that they rejected the idea of an Advisory Council seat for their President. The pseudo-customary bias of the federal council also continued: according to tradition the 'big man' was to be presented with shell money by all the 'lines' on the island; and the Malaitans stated that the prime object of the council would be to make 'good laws about custom' for the people. Thus, the opening of the council in January 1953 in effect marked the conferring of official form and status on a unity which

[41] The Kenya African District Councils Ordinance, 12/1950, was circulated to all D.C.s for comment. Headmen were also consulted.

the Malaitans had achieved for themselves. The council proved to be extremely active: within twenty months it submitted sixty-six resolutions and recommendations to the High Commissioner.[42]

The formation of the Malaita council exploded the myth about the incapacity of Melanesians to co-operate because of traditional parochialism. This emboldened the government to proceed with its legislation. District councils generally were given statutory authorisation by Native Administration Regulation 10/1953, which consolidated provisions for the appointment of headmen and for the constitution of councils. In its implementation, the most striking aspect of this system – particularly compared with Australian Melanesia – continued to be the socio-political emphasis on island integration, irrespective of population. The Malaitan example had compelled this jump forward, but it proved just as sound and viable on the other islands. Indeed, a lengthy concentration on sub-district councils could well have increased rather than mitigated traditional divisions. Under the new system, however, councillors from widely separated areas met and lived together for periods of a week or so at a time, and they were able to discuss and appreciate their common problems at both formal and informal meetings. Integration began to result from a joint assumption of responsibilities.[43] Nevertheless, a difficulty which remained was to make these big councils meaningful at the parochial sub-district level. To some extent this was done by having councillors sit in the sub-district native courts, which were reconstituted; this also had the effect of arresting the tendency for some councillors to adjudicate independently and illicitly. In addition, efforts were made to link the headmen and councillors through sub-district committees, which passed on local requests to the council and made council decisions known locally.

It should be emphasised that what assisted the rapid development of local government in the Solomons was the realisation by many officials with experience elsewhere that the islands were administratively backward, and that the islanders' frustration which resulted had been justified. This led to an atmosphere of understanding and a readiness for compromise. By 1959-60, however, the Administration felt that a sufficiently firm basis had been laid for the councils and courts to be administered more effectively, in accordance with central government requirements. Greater executive demands were made on the councils, as their revenues rose. The Protectorate Administration began to examine more rigorously the legislative actions of councils in respect of custom; and law officers began to call for closer attention to English procedural requirements in the native courts. There was every indication in 1960 that the councils and courts had been sufficiently firmly established, and were sufficiently conscious of their responsibilities, to accept increasing central supervision without abdicating their functions or losing interest. Increasing government supervision – it should be repeated – derived not from evidence of dereliction by island councils but from a

[42] The Administration felt that by retaining a proportion of nominated members (generally headmen) it would induce co-operation between central and local government without the direct intervention of Europeans, and that fissiparous tendencies in extremist areas would be cramped.

[43] In Australian New Guinea traditional divisions continue, because integration was made a *prerequisite for* the establishment of a council.

conviction that the system had reached a stage of sufficient maturity to warrant tighter procedures and review.

By 1960 virtually the whole population of the islands were running their own councils and courts and collecting and allocating their own revenues, while the Administration headmen were increasingly being made responsible to these local authorities. It was hoped that this breadth and degree of devolution, giving institutional scope for both western and customary concepts, would prepare the way for the development of something on democratic lines. The widespread lack of traditional rulers seemed to facilitate this, and it appeared that the real leaders – even the ex-cult men on Malaita and Guadalcanal – had been brought within the constitution.[44]

Editor's Note:

By 1962 sufficient advance had been made for the Government to issue a Policy Statement setting out the respective functions of local councils and the central government. This was followed in 1963 by the enactment of a new Local Government Ordinance to modernize the system and to enable the powers and duties of local councils to be expanded. A council under the new ordinance is wholly elected and may cover one sub-district only or an entire major island. Choiseul, Santa Ysabel, Malaita, San Christoval and Guadalcanal each have one island-wide council. In spite of encouraging progress by some councils, it cannot be accepted that they have yet become really effective units of local government. Lack of trained staff and low taxable capacity are severe handicaps.

[44] 1960 marked a critical phase on Malaita, as younger men began to replace the older federal council leaders. However, with the concurrence of the former some of the latter were nominated to the district council.

It is to be hoped that someone with recent experience of the B.S.I.P. will contribute an article to cover developments 1960-6.

Quarterly Notes

AFRICA – *Customary Law in Contemporary Africa*[1]

The future of African law, especially customary law, has been receiving much attention in most African countries since Lord Denning chaired the London Conference on this subject in 1959. Progress has been made in the integration of both the court and the customary and statute law systems in which both the International African Law Association and the Law Department of The School of Oriental and African Studies have taken an interest. We therefore welcome the timely decision of the editorial board of the *Journal of African Law* to initiate what its editor, Professor Allott, describes as a *continuing symposium* on the place and meaning of customary law in contemporary local systems and many of our readers will like to know of his plans.

We have therefore decided, with his agreement, to reprint Professor Allott's editorial to the special issue of our contemporary in full:

"This number of the Journal is entirely devoted to what has become the central problem in the evolution of African legal systems. The problem arises from the nature of the traditional legal systems which were installed before colonial rule arrived, and from the effect of the superimposition upon them of statutory legal systems of western type and origin. The resulting dualistic legal system has evolved greatly in the decades that have passed since it was originally created, so much so that many an African state today is considering the possibility of eliminating this dualism and of creating a single, unified system of law in its place. Progress in this direction has been faster in the francophonic than in the anglophonic sphere, perhaps because of the traditions of codified law introduced by the French and Belgian colonizers.

A number of international conferences have been devoted to the problems of unification and integration of laws, of which the most recent was that organized at Ibadan, Nigeria, in August 1964 by the Institute of African Studies of the University of Ife. This number of the Journal is concerned with a rather different aspect, *viz.*, what meaning does the term "customary law" have in modern African legal systems, how is it defined, and how is it to operate, in a system which still retains it as a body of rules, even if not as a self-sufficient system or set of systems?

Statutory definitions of "customary law", or "native law and custom", as it was often called in the earlier legislation of then British Africa, have been few and far between. Customary law, like elephants and more recently "ownership", was evidently considered to be one of those phenomena which it was impossible to define but which could nevertheless be instantly recognized when seen. In recent times the legislator (or the legal draftsman) has been getting bolder, and several definitions – some long, some brief – have been incorporated in the new legislation integrating the courts or modifying the juristic basis of the legal system

[1] The Journal of African Law – Special Number. Vol. 9, No. 2, Butterworths, 15s.

(examples of such legislation are quoted below from Ghana, Tanzania, and Uganda). At the same time doubt as to what is being defined has grown. What is the effect of statutory or quasi-statutory (e.g. by restatements, local by-laws, declarations of customary law) modifications or re-presentations of the customary law? Surely, it may be argued, a statutory "customary law" is a contradiction in terms? How do we define or delimit customary law when it is the subject of judicial interpretation in courts whose judgments create as well as expound law, according to the common law system of *stare decisis* or binding judicial precedent? Can we say that a High Court's or a Supreme Court's formulation and modification of the customary law in terms perhaps borrowed from a western legal system can be brought within a definition of customary law in terms of the practices habitually followed by the people subject to that law? More and more of the customary law is replaced by legislated law, e.g. in the field of land law: in what sense can the fragmented rules that remain be called a system of customary law?

Such problems are especially acute in countries such as Tanzania, where the official Unification of Customary Law Project has since 1961 been replacing the Tanganyika oral customary laws by new formulations, which may not represent the traditional law of any of the peoples affected by them, and which are gazetted as written, and presumably exclusive, sources of the new local personal law. In a less acute form the problem arises wherever a programme of "restatement" of the customary laws, such as that conducted by the Restatement of African Law Project of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, is undertaken. What authority is to be given to such a restatement?

Restatement, and other attempts at systematic investigation and recording of customary law, expose another problem, that of discrimination between habits and norms followed by a given community but to which the recognition and force of law are not accorded, and those normative rules of behaviour and institutions to which legal recognition is given, in the sense that they are not only followed as a matter of practice, but must be followed as a matter of law. There is no "legal litmus paper" of which I am aware that will satisfactorily discriminate between these two classes of norms or practices. The classical tests for the presence of law – law is what the courts enforce, and so on – merely beg the questions. Our problem is to instruct the courts as to which rules to enforce. Variation of the test for law, by making law what the courts are *likely* to enforce, merely postpones the day of decision, or hands it over to the researcher, who becomes a sort of law-giver.

Law, and customary law in particular, may have different meanings, that is, may be viewed and handled differently, by different categories of persons professionally concerned with it. To the anthropologist it is part of the mechanism of social control, or a segment of what he may call "jural phenomena". To the judge of the High Court, to the legal practitioner advising a client, to the academic lawyer conducting a field investigation, the problem of "customary law" in its general sense, and the ascertainment and status of a rule of customary law in particular, may be approached in varying ways. It is important to take note of, and if possible reconcile, these varying approaches, otherwise undesirable misunderstandings and

even conflicts may develop between these different investigators and handlers of customary law. We are accordingly initiating in the Journal what may be described as a *continuing symposium* on the place and meaning of customary law in contemporary African legal systems. We hope that contributors to this symposium will include judges, anthropologists, academic lawyers and others with an interest in this problem. This special Number, which initiates the symposium, includes a general paper by Mr. C. M. N. White, which is written from the viewpoint of one who is both a theoretical and observational anthropologist on the one hand, and a practical administrator of native courts on the other. We continue with Mr. N. N. Rubin's presentation of the problem. "What is customary law?", in the context of the attempt to investigate and record in a systematic manner the customary personal law of a particular African people, the Swazi. His paper includes the text of a draft restatement of the Swazi law of succession prepared for the Restatement of African Law Project in London. Lastly, Dr. K. Bentsi-Enchill contributes the viewpoint both of a legal practitioner in Ghana, and of a student of comparative law, to the resolution of the problem of the theoretical analysis and verbal description of African land tenure systems.

The Editorial Board has invited a number of distinguished judges, practitioners, academic lawyers and sociologists to contribute to the symposium in subsequent numbers of the Journal. The Board would like, at the same time, to extend to readers an invitation to contribute to the debate, which they may do by short notes or communications as well as by full-length articles. Comment and criticism on the materials and views presented so far by our contributors to the symposium will be warmly welcomed."

If subsequent contributions to the symposium maintain the standard set in the special number a valuable contribution to the study of the problems of integrating the different systems of law, at any rate on a national basis, will emerge.

INTERNATIONAL – *Development Administration*

The need for trained and able 'development administrators' if development goals and objectives are to be achieved in the newly emerged nations cannot be over-emphasised. Very relevant, therefore, are the following two extracts from the *International Review of Administrative Sciences* (Vol. xxxi-1965-No. 3):

"political considerations apart, there must exist sound and operative public administration services with defined tasks, competent planning machineries and adequate statistical and research services. Any planned effort towards economic growth presupposes the existence of a competent corps of administrators, for the realisation of development entirely depends on the skill and ability of the administrators to plan it, to implement it, and to assess and evaluate its results. And it is in the development of this skilled and competent corps of 'development administrators' that the vital role of schools and institutes is called upon."

"The importance of development administration need not be re-stated; suffice it to say that it is there as an important new concept with new requirements – a new and additional task to be carried on by schools and institutions. It only remains to say that for this additional task to be fully and effectively undertaken, schools and institutes themselves would first need to be built up and upgraded; only then could they be expected to competently measure up to the new concept and its new requirements. Schools and institutes suffer from a critical shortage of qualified staff, from a scarcity of local training material, from inadequate research work, as well as from ineffective training methods. The 'building up' of these institutions would, therfore, take several forms, and the following are some of the more important ones:

(*a*) Providing further higher education to their teaching staff – education tailored to the needs and characteristics of development administration.

(*b*) Assisting in the development of local training material through local empirical research.

(*c*) Establishing local research centres and training qualified research workers."

UNITED KINGDOM – *Training Course for Overseas Accountants*

A special five month course in public accounts and audit for junior and middle grade staff from overseas countries began at the end of January.

It is the first of its kind to be sponsored by the Ministry of Overseas Development and forms part of a general scheme on the part of the Ministry to help to raise standards of accounting and auditing in the public sectors of developing countries. In addition to providing, in co-operation with the British Council, a further special course for senior grade staff later in the year, assistance is being offered to provide places at Technical Colleges to enable overseas government candidates to obtain professional qualifications at the intermediate and final levels.

The sixteen course members, mainly from Africa and the Caribbean, have come to Britain from Bechuanaland, Gambia, Ghana, Malawi, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Nigeria, British Honduras, Dominica, Jamaica, St. Lucia, Brunei and Malta.

UNITED NATIONS – *A new contemporary*

We welcome a new contemporary. This is *Public Administration Newsletter* prepared in the Public Administration Branch of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs.

Although the "Newsletter" is basically for internal circulation to the United Nations experts in the field, it is also available to any institute or school of public administration, professional institutions, and persons having a direct interest in the United Nations programme. The "Newsletter" and publications by the United Nations Public Administration Branch may be obtained by writing directly to that Branch in New York.

UNITED KINGDOM – *Institute of Development Studies*

The inaugural meeting of the Governing Body of the Institute was held, in April, at the Ministry of Overseas Development. Lord Fulton, Vice Chancellor of the University of Sussex, presided.

In addition to Lord Fulton as Chairman the following Members of the Governing Body have been appointed.

Mr. A. L. Adu	Deputy Secretary-General, Commonwealth Secretariat.
Dr. T. Balogh	Adviser on Economic Affairs, Cabinet Office.
Mrs. E. M. Chilver	Principal, Bedford College, University of London.
Mr. W. Clark	Director, Overseas Development Institute.
Sir Colin Crowe	Chief of Administration, Diplomatic Service Administration Office.
Professor C. T. Leys	University of Sussex.
Professor D. A. Low	University of Sussex.
The Rt. Hon. Malcolm Macdonald	British High Commissioner, Kenya.
Dr. Gunnar Myrdal	Institute for International Economic Studies, Stockholm.
Mr. Raymond Nottage	Director, Royal Institute of Public Administration.
Professor C. H. Philips	Director, School of Oriental and African Studies, London University.
Dr. R. Prebisch	Secretary-General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD).
Mr. F. Seebohm	Director, Barclays Bank (D.C.O.)
Mr. D. Seers	Director-General of Economic Planning, Ministry of Overseas Development.
Professor B. E. Supple	University of Sussex.

Book Reviews

THREE REVIEWS OF

African Schools of Public Administration, by Dr. BRIAN WEINSTEIN, *African Studies Center, Boston University;* pp 123; Appendices.

(I)

THE early days of discovery produced a wealth of descriptive literature on the African environment which has now given way to a flood of scholarship concerned more with processes and patterns than with things. The assumption that our factual knowledge is well in advance of our understanding of Africa seems to me a doubtful one. In the field of government, the concentration on political systems and the relative neglect of administrative organisations have left a distorted emphasis and even, when political systems crumble, a void. If it were not for the technical assistance agencies and for such organisations as the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, our records of practical administrative experience in Africa today would be meagre indeed. One distinguished African civil servant, Mr. A. L. Adu,[1] has done his part to fill this gap, and there have been some valuable studies of local government. But, outside the pages of this Journal, too much of what remains is hidden in reports and memoranda which rarely become accessible to the outside world.

For this reason, the publication by the African Studies Centre of Boston University of Brian G. Weinstein's report on "African Schools of Public Administration" is particularly welcome. Its primary aim is, as the author puts it, "to present information about institutions and programmes designed to train high and middle level personnel in the public sector", information based on a lengthy questionnaire, which was sent to thirty-three such institutions, and on a personal visit to fourteen independent African states. In this aim it succeeds. Some institutes, such as Zaria, receive exhaustive mention. For others, such as Madagascar, one is left with little more than the fascinating detail that it teaches Judo as a character-training exercise. But such contrasts are inevitable in a study of this kind, and one imagines that the treatment of each institute was dictated not only by its size and significance, but by the extent of its response to Dr. Weinstein's questionnaire.

What does emerge from the study is a picture of the common features which so many of these institutes share, and of the differences in approach between institutes in French-speaking and English-speaking Africa. The common features are those of function and organisation; the function of an institute is to train, to carry on research and consultancy work, and to act as host to conferences of various kinds. Training is almost always the fundamental role. In terms of organisation, most institutes are responsible to a government ministry or, even when located within a university, derive authority from a board of governors on which government representatives play a major part. Dr. Weinstein sees the universals of organisation in terms of two words – change and autonomy. I endorse the first whole-heartedly; a few months ahead is often the farthest one can see. About the second I am

[1] *'The Civil Service in New African States'* by A. L. Adu, George Allen & Unwin, 1965.

not so sure and doubt that any government – especially in Africa – would be wise to entrust its training to an institute over which it had no direct control. But autonomy is a relative term and usually means a machinery for administration more than a right to teach what the government does not endorse. Since one of the most vital teaching duties of an institute must be to impart the national philosophy – and Dr. Weinstein makes this clear – an autonomous institution which failed to do so would hardly remain autonomous for very long. I do not myself see an institute of administration as a centre of academic freedom, which is one of several reasons why, as Dr. Weinstein nicely puts it, "from the point of view of most directors, complete absorption by the university is no more attractive than complete absorption by a ministry". Moreover, the distinction between training and education is a real one, even if the two frequently overlap. This is why the great majority of government-directed institutes are attached to the principal civil service ministry (in Kenya the Office of the President) rather than to the Ministry of Education. However, Dr. Weinstein sees the whole question of autonomy as depending more on the personality of the director of the institute than on any other factor, and points out that expatriate directors, paid from foreign funds, are able to organise programmes with considerable freedom. In Kenya, the Director of the Institute has always been an established civil servant, although, until now, an expatriate. In the last analysis, it seems to me that his freedom of action depends on the trust the government places in him, irrespective of his origin or the source of his pay.

Dr. Weinstein describes at length the work of the *Écoles Nationales d'Administration* in French-speaking Africa, and to the writer, whose only experience is of English-speaking Africa, this is the most interesting part of his study. The information he gives has, so far, been inaccessible; it is hard to exaggerate the lack of communication between the two language areas, and Dr. Weinstein does not attempt to hide it. He distinguishes between policies of '*formation*' and emphasis on 'general culture' in French-speaking institutes, and of intensive training in practical techniques in English-speaking ones. Certainly, the general education courses at, for example, the *École Nationale d'Administration du Sénégal* seem to Anglo-Saxon eyes more appropriate to a high school sixth form or a university than to a training centre. But the French system (and it does seem more dominated by the French example than ours is by the British), stresses the '*stage*' or internship a good deal. Our courses are intended to short-cut the process of in-service training, while the French ones obviously are not. But then, as Dr. Weinstein points out, there is more emphasis on rapid Africanisation in English-speaking countries, and the goal – to produce a competent official in the shortest possible time – is both more restricted and more urgent.

Part II of the Report – Schools and National Needs – has some interesting comparisons to make in the field of manpower planning and Africanisation. It is a surprising, although I do not doubt valid, conclusion of Dr. Weinstein's that most institutes are not in practice primarily concerned with the training of middle-level personnel – the executive cadres in British terminology, the *cadres moyens* in French. There is much evidence that this is the area of greatest need, and certainly in Kenya we have trained more of this category of civil servant – 850 to date – than of any other. But the overall picture is of concentration at the top, an imbalance which I suspect may be in proportion

to the number of foreign experts on an institute's staff. Civil servants usually know what the priorities are, but there is more opportunity for the expert and more justification for his services in a syllabus in development administration than in one in practical bookkeeping for government cash offices. One recognises the great importance of centres in Africa such as the Economic Development and Planning Instititue at Dakar, but the most pressing need of individual states is for training in the implementation of development schemes rather than in their initial preparation. Effective implementation depends enormously on sound routine, and a session on registry procedures or the conduct of official correspondence may contribute just as much to training for development as the sophisticated study of planning concepts by the chosen few.

The last section of the Report – Training Programmes and International Co-operation – highlights the problem of assimilating foreign teachers into an institute's activity. Dr. Weinstein distinguishes two opposing points of view, one American and one predominantly British and French. The reaction from the African on the receiving end is, unfortunately, not so clear. The American attitude is that diversity and even 'confusion' through the presentation of training materials by different national groups are both desirable and stimulating. The more conventional approach of many teachers from the old colonial powers is that every school of administration needs a method, that the training staff should speak 'the same administrative language' and that standardisation in administrative practice should be the goal. Dr. Weinstein takes an intermediate position and believes that diversity is possible without confusion and, in an institute with capable direction and a well thought-out plan for training, cannot be a danger. If my own inclinations are towards 'the same administrative language' school of thought, this is not because I believe that African civil services should or, indeed, can be insulated from the latest administrative methods. Dr. Weinstein quotes the American attitude that "in many places where Americans have been working, it is they who, for better or worse, have promoted the study of the administrative sciences". I am sure that this is so. Public administration as a 'science' derives largely from American academic sources which may find the British approach, as I once saw it alleged, 'a characteristically negative one'. But there is a great deal in the American literature, the formulation of concepts, the erection of administrative models, the use of the language of the behavioural sciences, which is difficult to incorporate into a practical training programme.

With the final conclusions of Dr. Weinstein's excellent study no one would quarrel. These are that "without training and without confidence in those who are trained, Africanisation will be a disaster and development a failure." I would go further and say that training is an investment in the future that must continue long after the temporary objective of Africanisation has been achieved.

A. J. F. SIMMANCE.

(II)

DR. WEINSTEIN'S work is extraordinarily well documented. The questionnaire sent to the schools (which is reproduced as an Annex) is evidence of this. The descriptive part of the work is beyond reproach, and contains a wealth

of information. The critical part of the report is, however, not so convincing. The criticisms made by the author in fact concern the value of the schools less than the utilisation which is made of them.

First of all, the author considers that developing countries have less need of senior officials than of engineers. This statement is not self-evident. On the other hand, there must be no question of developing a certain kind of teaching to the detriment of another kind. There is a grave problem here.

Secondly, Dr. Weinstein claims that the schools of administration are creating a new managerial class. This is possible: but it is not the fault of the schools. The use made in due course by the public authorities of pupils from the *Écoles Nationales d'Administration* is not a ground for attacking the value of the institutions themselves.

Then again, the distinction made between the training given by the E.N.A.s and the institutes of public administration is somewhat theoretical. The author claims that at the two extremes the E.N.A.s produce brilliant officials who are useless whereas the I.P.A.s produces very competent officials who are lacking in general ideas. The distinction is too sharp. What is more, the author himself is forced to tone it down when he says that good training provides a combination of these two qualities.

Lastly, one must criticise some details in the author's comments. Dr. Weinstein states first of all that the pupils read very little (which, on the whole, is correct). He later remarks that the libraries are generally well equipped with works of a technical nature. Then he criticises the library of one of the E.N.A.s (the one in the Ivory Coast) for having nineteen shelves filled with novels and seven with histories of literature. The fact is, that probably the reason why the pupils read very little is simply that there are too many dry works offered to them. The reading of novels, on the contrary, is the kind of thing which will give them a taste for reading.

In conclusion, Dr. Weinstein's report is interesting, pleasant to read, correct on the whole but subject to criticism on a certain number of detailed points.

JEAN MERIC
(translated from the French).

(III)

IN 1963 when I first met Dr. Weinstein in Boston he was aggressively francophil, looking forward to a period of service in Guinea and rather more of the political scientist than an administrator. I later met him in Zaria when he was preparing his report on African schools of public administration.

It is not unfair to Dr. Weinstein to say that he has little practical experience of administration anywhere. This is not his fault since he has had neither time nor opportunity to acquire it. On the basis of a short period of service in Guinea and the odd roadworking exercises, he must also still be rated as an observer of African affairs rather than an expert in them. Nevertheless he is a scholar of consequence, extremely observant and an enthusiast. It is his sense of scholarship which saves the report from the worst consequences of conclusions drawn from an inadequate background of experience.

Dr. Weinstein sets out the facts about Zaria accurately and, as far as I can judge, his facts about a number of other institutions of which I have first hand knowledge, are correct. He has not sought to duplicate the work of the International Institute of Administrative Science and U.N.E.S.C.O. by producing a catalogue of factual data about schools and institutions. He is an excellent rapporteur and he has faithfully recorded the views of the many people whom he has interviewed without betraying their confidences or identity. Dr. Weinstein's analysis of the facts as presented to him is also praiseworthy. He sees clearly the reasons why things have been done in different ways in different countries. He senses the dilemma of the trainer of administration in rapidly developing situations – the need for constant reappraisal and change of programme content and the necessity for some foundation which will hold for awhile upon which to base every particular student's training. His description of the administrative training programmes in the ex French territories and his understanding of French methodology add substantially to our knowledge in both the United Kingdom and the United States. We know by our day-to-day contacts with African officials from the francophone countries that highly competent administrators are being produced in these countries and we have all failed to give due credit to the training methods which have produced them. Perhaps a lesson to be learnt from Dr. Weinstein is that there are more ways than one of training administrators and no country and no culture has a monopoly of expertise in this field. We may not like each other's methods but long experience of international conferences suggest that there is little prospect of any dramatic conversions and all will be judged by their results in the final analysis.

I wonder how much experience Dr. Weinstein has in the handling of mixed language groups? His plea for closer contacts between anglophone and francophone groups finds a ready echo throughout Africa. Meetings of this kind are, however, expensive and hard enough to arrange at centres with fixed interpretation facilities. I find it difficult to join him in his criticism of E.C.A. about the decision to mount separate expeditions to Yugoslavia and India rather than to attempt a peripatetic bi-lingual conference across half the world.

Finally, Dr. Weinstein raises some pertinent questions about the future of the American aid effort to public administration in Africa. It is ruggedly insular in its approach, urgent in its application and consequently highly rationalised and often a canned version of some programme successful in the American environment. Very few American experts are prepared to stay for more than two years and the resultant necessity to register an achievement in such a short time tends to produce insensitivity towards the strength of local resistance to change which is sometimes reasonably founded upon political considerations and upon a desire to preserve custom and tradition. Most of us who have had the pleasure and privilege of working with American colleagues in Africa would like to see more evidence that the United States and its mighty academic institutions were bent on achieving longer term relationships with the young institutions which they are helping so materially to foster. Much of the confusion which Dr. Weinstein has observed stems from the very hustle and bustle of the operation.

S. S. RICHARDSON

Approach to Public Administration, by E. N. GLADDEN, *Staples Press, London* 1966. pp. 183, 30s.

An Introduction to Public Administration, by E. N. GLADDEN, *Staples Press, London,* 1966, pp.251. 36s.

WHAT is Public Administration? Is it an art or is it science? Are there fundamental principles which can be studied and applied to the problems of particular countries, or is it a matter of applying modern techniques based on past experience? Those concerned with the arguments adduced in support of both sides in this debate will turn expectantly to Mr. Gladden's two recent publications to see whether he throws any new light on these vexed questions.

Mr. Gladden is clearly a supporter of the school of thought which would have us press on with the formulation of a new science of administration. He argues cogently in favour of more methodology and expertise in administration. No one would dispute these needs, but there remains the question as to whether the development of administration is to be based on a pragmatic approach, or on the application of general principles which have yet to be formulated in terms sufficiently precise as to gain general acceptance.

In his "Approach to Public Administration" Mr. Gladden sets out to provide the reader who is new to this subject with a general guide to the main features which characterise the organization of public administration in its widest sense. He supplements this initial survey, which is clear and concise, with an Appendix in which he provides a penetrating review of the administrative structures and systems of government in Britain, the U.S.A., France, Switzerland and the U.S.S.R. Mr. Gladden's book provides a thorough introduction to the subject and merits inclusion in the libraries of all training centres in which public administration is studied from the grass roots upwards. In his "Introduction" Mr. Gladden undertakes a more detailed examination of the working of the component parts of public administration but his review is confined to the organs of central and local government in Britain. As a commentary on the functions of public administration in Britain today this volume provides a valuable source of information for the student of the British model. Mr. Gladden's detailed analysis of the inter-play of forces which result in effective administrative action is enhanced by his comments and suggestions based on a long and detailed knowledge of his subject. The "Introduction" constitutes a valuable source of information concerning the details of the two British systems which are examined; and the running commentary provided by Mr. Gladden on each sphere of activity he deals with not only illuminates his subject but breathes an air of vitality and purpose into his book.

Mr. Gladden's volumes are prepared on a descriptive basis since their intention is to initiate and explain, rather than formulate fundamental propositions. His clear analysis, coupled with his experienced commentary, provides a valuable addition to the fund of information on public administration in Britain. Perhaps, after all, Mr. Gladden would agree with Pope that "What 'ere is best administered is best"?

I.T.N.

A History of Southern Rhodesia: Early Days to 1934, by L. H. GANN, *Chatto & Windus; London;* 1965; pp. 335; bibliography, Index and map 55s.

A decade of intelligent exploitation of the Rhodesian National Archives' unique holdings has given Dr. Gann an unrivalled knowledge of the documentary material on central African history, and he combines this with wide historical interests and a taste for intellectual combat. The result is seldom dull and generally scholarly. Yet this book cannot be wholly recommended, as it reflects a partial and partisan conception of Rhodesian history, both in terms of the balance of its material, and in its treatment of some important issues.

The partisanship is not wanton. Dr Gann's position might not unfairly be described as historical Whiteheadism. His vantage point is above the commitments and emotions of the protagonists in the racial confrontation: the confrontation was inevitable, the protagonists only human. His watchword is realism, the task is to record and explain without romanticism or sentimentality. Unfortunately such a vantage point is not, I think, really attainable in relation to events which lie at the heart of such a universal contemporary problem as the relations between rich and poor and black and white peoples; at any rate, it is not consistently attained by Dr Gann.

In the first place, reliance on archival material means that the 'European adventure' predominates enormously over the 'African experience' (to use Nkrumah's useful antithesis). The little about Africans that there is in this book is based almost entirely on the observations of explorers, missionaries and settlers of various descriptions, nearly all of whom had evident preconceptions. Sometimes Dr Gann notes this, as when he calls the Portuguese Monclaro 'somewhat prejudiced'; but at other times he appears to rely uncritically on such sources, as when he concludes that the early white hunters were honest in their dealings with Africans on the basis of the opinion of Selous, the doyen of them all. The kind of anthropology and oral historiography which could redress the imbalance of the available material was only begun on a substantial scale with the foundation of the University College at Salisbury, and may prove to have been short-lived. It will be interesting to see how far the work in progress of Professor Ranger and Mr Brown, among others, will challenge some of the opinions of Dr Gann; whether, for example, his view that the 'good horse sense of British officers made in practice for a reasonable degree of equity' in the early days of Company rule will emerge a sound doctrine or wishful speculation.

Turning to sins of commission, it would be quite wrong to accuse Dr Gann of consistent or gross partiality. Many contentious issues are handled with a careful frankness. A good example is his account of the growth of demand for African labour and the means used to procure it. Sometimes, however, material issues are omitted. For instance in his discussions of the vital issue of land ownership, Dr Gann omits to consider the connections between the fact that British entry to Southern Rhodesia was only possible on the basis of a treaty with and a concession by Lobengula, the Matabele king; the fact that neither of these entitled the incomers to land ownership; the fact that nonetheless grants of 3000 and 6000 acre farms were part of the prize offered by the Chartered Company for armed service during the occupation; and the fact that the Privy Council subsequently ruled that the

whole purpose of the Charter had been to make possible colonisation and conquest.

Perhaps one's real objection to Dr. Gann's treatment is that in the last analysis it is cynical. The Matabele, he points out, were plundered of a large number of cattle when Lobengula was defeated; but, he adds, 'morally the Matabele could hardly complain, for they themselves used to raid their neighbours. . . .' In the same vein, the later policy of Land Apportionment is described with complete honesty, but draws the comment that the Africans 'in terms of land thus fared a great deal better than the Red Indians of North America, the Maori of New Zealand or the Araucanians of Chile.' It is possible that such standards of comparison occasion no discomfort for some white Rhodesian readers, however little one would care to have them applied to actions for which one felt any responsibility oneself; but one cannot escape the impression that Dr Gann believes that historical objectivity means that the treatment of major moral questions in history must be brought down to this level.

The fairest way to assess this book, therefore, is as a learned record of the establishment of European control in Rhodesia, written from a sophisticated but fundamentally European point of view. As such it provides much valuable new material, especially on the policies of the Chartered Company from 1900 to 1923, and on the party politics and policies of the settler governments from 1924 to 1934. It does not challenge the broadly accepted version of the events of these years, although little has been written about them; but it clothes them with new and authoritative detail.

COLIN LEYS.

The British Commonwealth: The Development of its Laws & Constitutions. UGANDA, by H. F. MORRIS and JAMES READ, *Stevens & Sons*, pp. 448, bibliography and index; £4 10 0.

THIS book on Uganda is the thirteenth of a series dealing with the British Commonwealth and the development of its laws and constitutions. The book is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the historical background and political considerations which explain why such a complicated constitution was necessary. The second part describes the constitution in detail and the third gives in outline some of the essential aspects of the most important branches of the Law of Uganda including customary law.

In Part I the survey of events leading up to the drafting of the constitution and the considerations involved is clear, detailed and concise. To anyone unacquainted with the tensions existing in Uganda, particularly in the ten years preceding independence, this part provides a very clear explanation. The constitution formulated as the result of this background is a remarkable instrument in that it effected a compromise between the rival demands for a federal state on the one hand and a unitary state on the other. It endeavoured to strike a balance between the traditionalist element in Uganda, represented mainly by the Baganda, and the more radical politicians who tend to come from the non-Bantu areas. Unfortunately the compromise achieved through the constitution did not remove the causes of mistrust between these two factions and their relationship deteriorated progressively after independence until it reached a stage whereby the constitution was suspended in February

of this year. It would seem that there is now a struggle for supremacy between the traditionalists represented by the Baganda who, to a varying degree, are supported by the other federal states, and the radicals in the non-federal areas. As this book illustrates, the latter day history of Uganda is largely concerned with the successful struggle of the Baganda to entrench their position against any form of encroachment on what they have always considered to be their special place in Uganda. As a result of their stubborness and refusal to concede on practically all the major points in issue during the constitutional conferences, Buganda emerged with a remarkable degree of autonomy at independence. However, their intransigence which proved so successful in the days of the Protectorate Government is unlikely to prove the correct policy today and the optimism of the authors concerning the preservation of the autonomy achieved by the Baganda in particular and the other federal states to a lesser degree, is open to doubt. It is hoped that the constitution is only suspended temporarily but it is almost certain that it will be amended in the near future. Whatever evolves from this present impasse will be extremely interesting and one of the great stabilising factors in Uganda, namely respect for the Rule of Law, is demonstrated by the fact that both contestants are now awaiting a decision from the Uganda High Court as to the legality of the suspension.[1]

Part III opens with a dissertation on the sources of Law in Uganda. This is followed by a survey of criminal law, procedure and evidence and a shrewd selection of those laws which have the widest influence on the economic and social life of Uganda. In this survey of the laws, customary civil law which is confined to land law and family matters, is given some prominence. Customary civil law is unwritten and it continues to play a vital part in the courts but the very existence of this separate unwritten branch of law in Uganda does pose special problems for the integrated courts. One of these problems relates to the "harmonisation" of these laws with the general Law of Uganda. In fact the authors hint that this "harmonisation" of the laws might have been given precedence over the administrative aspect of integration but after independence it was politically desirable that the suggestion of discrimination inherent in two separate and distinct courts systems should be eliminated as quickly as possible. It has always been the intention to integrate customary civil law whenever possible but it has not been considered a matter of urgency. However, the continued existence of customary civil law alongside the Laws of Uganda does raise the question of the jurisdiction of the courts and possible conflict. In fact the courts' jurisdiction ceases to be a problem with integration and conflict, which to a limited extent has always been a potential difficulty, will be dealt with as before by the courts endeavouring to apply the customary law of the tribes involved. However, the authors do make a valid point in saying that some guidance as to the choice of law should have been made available to the courts and they rightly criticise the lack of encouragement in the past given to the study of customary civil law which might have lessened its uncertainty and aided its development. Customary law on marriage and divorce and its relationship with the Marriage Acts in Uganda is remarkably complicated and the authors have discussed the problem at some length. A commission

[1] *Mr. Fleming's review was written before the decision of the High Court was given against Buganda and subsequent events which culminated in the overthrow of the Kabaka.* Ed.

investigating these matters is preparing a report presumably with recommendations for the future, but the complexity of this question is such that a truly African solution to this problem will be required if, for example, the offence of bigamy is to be enforced and to receive the general acceptance of the public in Uganda.

The development of the courts and laws in Uganda is a fascinating study and it is unfortunate that the scope of this book, prevents the authors from enlarging on this feature. Reviewing the book as a whole there is no doubt that the constitutional historian, the lawyer and the sociologist will find it to be of the greatest value in any part of their studies or work which relates to Uganda.

J. T. FLEMING.

Nigerian Law of Landlord and Tenant, by M. OBUMNENE ONWUAMAEGBU *London: Sweet & Maxwell; Lagos: African Universities Press.* 1966; pp. 332; £3 3 0.

The law of landlord and tenant in Nigeria is contained in (*a*) a number of varying customary laws (influenced in some areas by Muslim law) (*b*) in such part of the Common Law, the principles of equity and the statutes of general application of England as at the 1st January 1900 as are considered by the courts to be applicable in any given circumstances, (*c*) in the legislation of Nigeria and of the Regions and (*d*) in the cases decided by the Nigerian courts. When it is realised that these sources of law exist side by side, vary from Region to Region and have never been integrated, but on the contrary frequently conflict with one another, it will be appreciated that Mr. Onwuamaegbu has undertaken a formidable task in attempting to set out within so few pages a coherent statement of a bewildering situation. Space has of course not allowed him to give a comprehensive statement of the English law of landlord and tenant; and he has taken for granted the knowledge of the reader as to much of this. He is, however, more detailed in his approach to the Nigerian law, customary and general, relating to the subject, and supplies much new material of real value, such as the sections on types of tenancy at customary law (pp. 38-50), the method of granting tenancies at customary law (pp. 57-84), the liabilities of the tenant under customary law (pp. 151-172), succession to the rights of landlords and tenants in customary law (pp. 291-309, and so on.

In dealing with many topics the author discusses customary law and 'the general law' (by which he appears to mean the applied English law and the Nigerian statutory and case law) side by side in the same paragraphs. A different treatment would have involved excessive repetition since customary and general law are in fact different parts of the same subject and constantly interact with each other in everyday practice – as is demonstrated in the author's section on the conversion of customary interests to English interests and vice versa (pp. 127-133). Inevitably, however, this method has involved some loss of clarity, and in this connection it is thought that the author might well have treated quite separately the right of occupancy system of the Northern Region as contained in the Land Tenure Law which is based upon the system existing in parts of India and East Africa and is totally different in kind (and not merely in degree) from all other systems existing

in Nigeria. A reading of this book suggests that the most crying need of the Southern Regions of Nigeria is for a thoroughly new and comprehensive statutory land law combining all that is best in the present customary and common law and existing statutes.

There are some obvious errors, e.g.: "Amos" in two places on page 22 should be "Ames", "jingali" on page 167 should be "jangali". It is not true, as stated on p. 71 that the former Adamawa Province is now called Sardauna Province. The latter name was given to the former Northern Trust Territory Province. The index appears to be adequate, but the table of statutes has one or two omissions.

This work, which the author states was originally a thesis for the Ph.D. degree in the University of London, is a good study in comparative law and a good guide to the conflict between the imported English law and the indigenous Nigerian law, but, for practical day to day use, it needs to be supplemented by more detailed treatises on both subjects.

H. H. MARSHALL.

Evolving Commonwealth. by TOM SOPER, *Pergamon Press*, 1965, pp. 131, appendix & index, 15s.

Skilfully, and with a fine sense of humour, Dr. Soper gives a concise sketch of some four hundred years of British colonial history, from which the Commonwealth has gradually evolved. This is a fascinating account of the development of an Empire that has so strongly influenced the shaping of the present-day map of the world.

Dr. Soper's booklet shows the flow of ideas and philosophies, of interests and power politics, and their effects on the relationship between England and her dependencies. The motives for colonial expansion, and the policies with regard to overseas territories changed over the course of time. Economic considerations caused European vessels to set their sails for faraway countries. In order to secure economic interests against local opposition, and against economic or armed intervention by other western states, England was forced to confirm and extend her political control over overseas territories by treaty or by force. The Industrial Revolution gave rise to the need for industrialists to extend and safeguard markets for their products. Throughout the centuries, and particularly during the 19th century, the desire for a new and better life prompted many people from the British Isles to settle overseas, and thus escape political or religious persecution, or social and economic misery. Later, African territories were acquired as a result of exploits of individual people and societies who had a "hotchpotch" of reasons. Motives of colonial expansion were often obscured by explicit incentives. Free trade, inspired by economic interests, was thus "rationalized into a moral virtue". The same could have been said regarding the indirect rule system.

The author deserves praise for his interesting analysis of cause and effect in the rise and decline of the British Empire and the Commonwealth Association. Time and again, he mentions situations and developments in Britain and abroad, which resulted in new government policies or in action by the people (emigration, commercial expansion, colonial wars against other western powers), if not in particular political and economic philosophies (decentralisation, self-determination, free trade, etc.).

The American Revolution formed a turning point in British colonial history, being as it was a lesson of what might very well happen in other areas. Forward-looking people developed a policy of decentralisation and gradual self-government with regard to those areas that were primarily inhabited by white settlers. The British government was less ready, however, to embark on a similar policy for its dependencies in Asia and Africa. It may be true, as the author states, that the British government was never willing permanently to continue their authority over people who did not want it; however, there was a considerable lack of consensus between the nationalist movements and the British government about the rate of transfer to independence. The timing of the various steps on the way to self-government and full independence was undoubtedly the principal point of controversy between these nationalist movements and the British government. It would have been interesting if the author had indicated the extent to which changes in British policies were caused by situations of emergency (war, explosive internal pressures in the territories) and by external pressures. Also, it would have been useful if Dr. Soper had emphasised the influence of the new ideologies, on the dependent countries themselves, and not only on the British government. It seems that the drive for freedom was strongly influenced by foreign ideologies and moral, if not material, aid received from powerful foreign nations.

For people from countries where there is a strong tendency to think in terms of formal constitutions, the Commonwealth, as sketched in Dr. Soper's book, is a remarkable edifice. The absence of formal rules, the great flexibility in adapting to ever new conditions, probably helped prevent it from collapsing. To a foreigner, the Commonwealth seems to be held together by a curious mixture of interests and emotional ties, plus an undeniable sense of mysticism.

Will the Commonwealth withstand the pressure of time, as it did in the past? Will it survive if the British government does eventually join the Common Market? The opinion of the author seems to be that the Commonwealth Association will continue to be strong, and an important asset for its members. The future will have to prove whether this will be so.

A. F. LEEMANS.

Other Books Received

Aid in Uganda – Programmes and Policies, by RALPH CLARK. *Overseas Development Institute;* pp. 101 including Glossary and Index: 15s.

Aid in Uganda – Education, by PETER WILLIAMS. *Overseas Development Institute,* 1966; pp. 137 appendices and index; 20s.

O.D.I. has started a series of Studies which will look at Aid from the viewpoint of the recipient. Uganda is the first country chosen for this purpose and these books are the first two of a three part study which will also cover agriculture. In AID IN UGANDA, after providing the background picture to development planning in Uganda, Mr. Ralph Clark in his concluding chapter points out the difficulties created by politically tied aid and urges that where aid must be tied it should, whenever possible, be tied to projects.

In the second study, Mr. Williams discusses whether the education policy in a newly independent country should be strategic and aimed at satisfying the staffing of the country, or generally aimed at education for all who want it and can profit by it. With the aid coming mostly from Britain and America he notes that 80 per cent of Uganda secondary school staff are from overseas. The final chapter on 'Some practical problems in Aid' provides useful food for thought; are two year contracts for expatriate teachers long enough? Can donor agencies co-operate better and avoid competing scholarship offers? are questions that clearly need consideration.

Aid in the Commonwealth, by PETER WILLIAMS, *Overseas Development Institute:* pp. 56; 6s.

This is another most informative booklet produced by O.D.I. Mr Peter Williams sets out very clearly the role of the Commonwealth in International Aid, lists the Commonwealth givers and recipients of aid and provides a brief and valuable summary of the main points. That the Commonwealth contains over one third of the non-Communist world – 785 million of the worlds total of 3,160 million, with only 11 per cent living in developed countries, are facts brought out that emphasize the impossibility of the small developed group of Commonwealth countries providing the full development needs of the large group that is poor.

Morocco-Tunisia Politics and Planning, by DOUGLAS ELLIOTT ASHFORD: $2.75; and **Tanganyika: Preplanning,** by FRED. G. BURKE: $3.25.

Both these books are published by the Syracuse University Press in their National Planning Series under the general editorship of Bertram M. Gross; of particular interest in Professor Ashford's Study is the contrast between the two countries, Morocco and Tunisia, and his analysis of the political and social climate in each, by which he seeks to explain the very differing degrees of success achieved in their development since independence. Professor Burke's study is based on the historical background to Tanganyika's independence and provides an understanding picture of development plan formulation for Tanzania.

Southern Nigeria in Transition 1885-1906, by J. C. ANENE, *Cambridge University Press,* 1966; pp. 360 with appendices, Illustrations, Index and Map. 45s.

Professor Anene himself a national of Southern Nigeria provides an authorative account of two decades in Southern Nigeria history during the early and formative years of British rule.

Proceedings of a Seminar on Metropolitan Area Problems in Pakistan, *National Institute of Public Administration, Karachi.* Rps. 7/50.

Besides an inaugural Address by the Pakistan Finance Minister, the published proceedings include thirteen papers covering a very wide range of urban government problems in Pakistan. Two years elapsed between discussions and publication and this is clearly much too long.

Government in Metropolitan Calcutta; A Manual, by M. BHATTACHARYA, M. M. SINGH and FRANK J. TYSEN. *Asia Publishing House*, London, pp. 238 Appendices and Index; 40s.

District Administration in Metropolitan Calcutta, by FRANK J. TYSEN. *Asia Publishing House*, London; pp. 53; 20s.

These two books describing urban government in Calcutta have been published for the Institute of Public Administration, New York, in its Calcutta Research Studies series under the general editorship of Dr. Leslie Green. Both have resulted from long and detailed research and the Manual contains a mine of information that would otherwise require much independent reading by a student of government in Calcutta.

Local Finance in Perspective, by K. Venkataraman, *Asia Publishing House*, London. pp. 63; 14s.

Mr. Venkataraman's small book provides a useful study of local finance and gives a valuable perspective of the present situation in India.

A History of Bunyoro-Kitara, by A. R. DUNBAR, *Oxford University Press;* pp. 253; Illustrated, Appendix, Bibliography and Index, 27s. 6d.

The 'lost counties' of Bunyoro were a major political issue throughout the period of British rule in Uganda, a running sore in the body politic of the country. Mr. Dunbar's history ends in 1962 and his Preface is dated January 1964. He adds a short note on the referendum, later that year, which finally resulted on 1st January 1965, in the return of Bugangaizi and Buyoga to the Kingdom of Bunyoro-Kitara. It is a story with a happy ending which took place just too late to find its place in the history proper. This does not detract from the value of Mr. Dunbar's useful book which incorporates much material that is not readily available elsewhere.

Hire Purchase and Conditional Sale, by R. M. GOODE and JACOB S. ZIEGEL, published by the *British Institute of International and Comparative Law*, pp. 289 – Index – £2 0s 0d.

As Lord Justice Diplock writes in his Foreword, "the acquisition of consumer goods on hire-purchase or conditional sale is one of the commonest legal transactions into which the ordinary citizen enters to-day. It is also probably one of the most complex". He points out that on the one side are business men on the other purchasers with little knowledge of business or of the law. By legislation and by action in the Courts varying degrees of protection have been provided for the purchaser, differing from country to country.

The comparative study of Commonwealth and American law in this field which Messrs. Goode & Ziegel have undertaken provides by their analytical survey not only material that will be invaluable to legal draftsmen in the developing countries of the Commonwealth, but material that will also help lawyers in all common law countries whatever their stage of development, to appreciate the deficiences in their own law and by the comparisons, here available, with how the problems have been answered in other countries, to achieve a better understanding of their causes and possible remedy.

Pickering Protector of Chinese, by R. N. JACKSON, *Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur;* pp. 122 and bibliography; 32s.

In this biography the last Englishman to hold a Chinese Affairs post in the Central Government in Malaya, looks with much sympathy at Pickering the first Protector of Chinese.

Law in Africa: The Police and the Public in Nigeria, by CYPRIAN O. OKONKWO, *Sweet & Maxwell;* pp. 74, Appendices, Index, 20s. net U.K., and paperback for sale in Africa only, 10s.

This book should prove a useful guide, in Nigeria, both to members of the Police Force and to the general public.

Cases and Materials on Constitutional and Administrative Law, by GEOFFREY WILSON, *Cambridge University Press;* pp. 609, appendix and index; 70s.

This book is the second volume in the Cambridge Legal Case Book series and includes not only leading cases but also extracts from parliamentary debates and other relevant material; of particular interest to readers of this *Journal* will be the concluding 50 pages covering 'the Courts and the Administration'; the basic problems in the relationship between the citizen and the state in Britain, from the viewpoint of the constitutional lawyer are admirably illustrated.

Thomas Munroe and the Development of Administrative Policy in Madras 1792-1818, by T. H. BEAGLEHOLE. *Cambridge University Press,* 1966; pp. 183 with Notes, Bibliography and Index; 35s.

While this scholarly book is both a biography and a history of British rule in Madras 150 years ago, its particular interest to readers of this *Journal* will lie in the study of administrative practice and its development and the governmental attitude and that of Munroe a very able administrator, towards changes in the system that were taking place under his guidance, changes that were to affect the administrative approach in much of British India.

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Correction

(Mr. Chick's article)

April, 1966, page 89, sub-paragraph (*a*) third line for 'policy' read 'polity'.

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Law in Africa Series No. 15

The Customary Laws of Succession in Eastern Nigeria

and the Statutory and Judicial Rules Governing their Application

NWAKAMMA OKORO, D.P.A. (Exeter); LL.B. (Lond.); LL.M. (Birmingham); Ph.D. (Cantab.)

Barrister and Solicitor of the Federal Supreme Court of Nigeria; Formerly William Senior Scholar in Comparative Law, Clare College, Cambridge; Director of Eastern Nigerian Customary Laws Restatement Scheme

This is the first comprehensive study of the customary laws of succession in Eastern Nigeria, and the impact of English law upon them. Every important source has been considered in studying the law, including judicial decisions of the customary and general courts, legislation, the available literature, and even that basic repository of knowledge of customary law, the memory of tribal village elders.

In the introductory pages of this book, there is a short ethnographic account of the twelve and a half million or so peoples of Eastern Nigeria, and then are discussed the functions of property and succession laws in the societies, the people's attitude towards succession disputes, and a classification of their customary laws of succession. These are followed by an examination of the categories of heritable property—the estate, and an account is given of the different kinds of individual and group property.

Next an examination of the rules of administration of estates is followed by a discussion of the rules of testate and intestate succession in patrilineal, bilineal, and matrilineal societies. A very important section of the book deals with conflicts in the choice of law applicable to succession disputes and the means by which the application of customary laws may be excluded or varied. The book concludes with a survey of the areas in which reform would be most useful.

The law covered by this book is of very real practical interest to lawyers, law teachers and law students in Nigeria. African law has become, moreover, a subject of academic interest in other fields, and there is much in this volume for the sociologist also, and those working in the fields of anthropology and political science.

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